



POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY OF MAHABAT KHAN

DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

Master of Philosophy

IN

HISTORY

BY

ANIS FATIMA

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

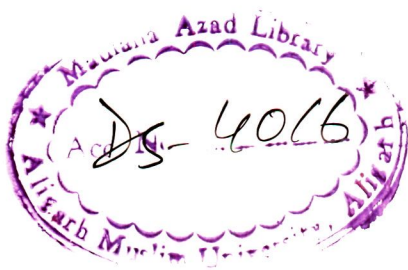
PROF. AFZAL HUSAIN

CENTER OF ADVANCED STUDY
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH (INDIA)



2009

Fed in Computer



18 SEP 2012



DS4016

DEDICATED TO
MY
GRAND FATHER

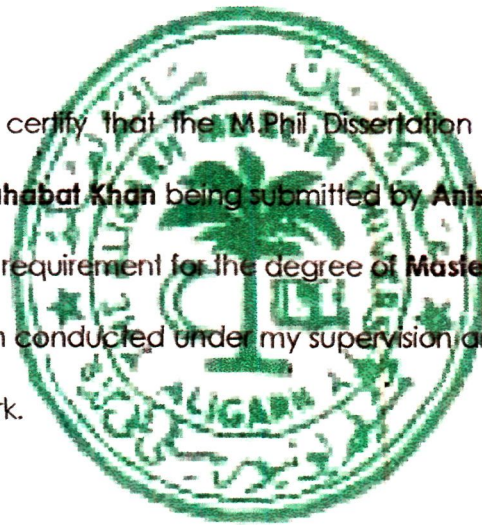
CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY


DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH – 202 002

Dated:08.04.2009

Certificate

This is to certify that the M.Phil. Dissertation entitled **Political Biography of Mahabat Khan** being submitted by **Anis Fatima** in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of **Master of Philosophy in History** has been conducted under my supervision and embodies her own original work.




Professor Afzal Husain
Supervisor

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First of all I wish to express my deep sense of gratitude to my revered supervision, Prof. Afzal Husain Center of Advance Study, Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh for his excellent guidance, keen interest, critical advise, valuable suggestions, cordial attitude and other helps during the completion of this work.

I am extremely grateful to Chairman and Co-ordinator, Prof. B.L. Bhadani and my teachers like Prof. Infan Habib, Prof. Tariq Ahmad, Prof. Shireen Moosvi, Dr. Nadeem Rezavi and Dr. A. S. Gilani.

I am also indepted to the staffs of my department, Research Library, C.A.S Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh and National Achieve of India, New Delhi who extended full co-operation at various levels to me during the collection of material.

I am highly thankful to U.G.C also for providing scholarship for perusing my research work..

I am abundantly lacking eloquence to express my dept of gratitude to Dr. Amir Ahmad, my loving 'Bhaiya' without his co-operation, guidance, and keen interest and help I would never complete my dissertation.

My special thanks go to my family members like Mrs. & Mr. Shah Mohammad my respected in-Laws. My dearest Nana Nani (Grand Maternal parents). Zaiser Fatima my loving elder sister, Md. Rizwan and Kamran my younger brothers, Mrs. & Mr. Tarique Shah, Shaista, Shalu, Ladil and dearest Zaid, my younger in-laws sides. Musarrat Fatima my younger sister, Kahkashan Amir, Nawazish Amir, my dearest niece and nephew.

I am also thankful to my well wishers, Mr. Shafi Ahmad, Dr. B.Lal Srivastava, Ashok Sir, Hasnain Akhter, Md. Jibrael, Falag Naaz, Samina Nayaz and my friends Faria

*Asif, Asghar Raja, Salim Zaweed, Fazila Shahnawaz,
Sultana Parveen.*

*Finally, I must acknowledge my deep gratitude to my
respected parents Mr. Shamsuzzoha and Ms. Razia Khatoon for
their indulgence and patience during the writing of this work.*

*At last but not least, I am lacking words to express my
heartiest gratitude to my husband Mr. Tabrez Jauhar for his love,
affection, encouragement and supplication which has given me an
immense help in all ups and downs of my life and his all means
support to complete my work.*

Anis Fatima,
(Anis Fatima)

CONTENTS

	Page No.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	i-iii
INTRODUCTION	1- 4
CHAPTER – I	5-16
Early Life and Career of Mahabat Khan	
CHAPTER – II	17-27
Position of Mahabat Khan during the period of so-called Nur Jahan ‘Junta’ (1611-1620).	
CHAPTER – III	28-46
Role of Mahabat Khan during Khurram’s Revolt (1622-1626).	
CHAPTER – IV	47-78
Rebellion of Mahabat Khan.	
CHAPTER – V	79-99
Political Achievements and Position of Mahabat Khan during Shah Jahan’s Reign.	
CONCLUSION	100-111
BIBLIOGRAPHY	112-117

INTRODUCTION

The study on various aspects of the Mughal polity done by modern scholars showed that the nobility played an important role in the rise and fall of the Mughal empire. Satish Chandra¹ and M. Athar Ali² in their works have studied the role of Mughal nobility in the later phase of the Mughal Empire. Following their trends Afzal Hussain³ made a detailed study of the role of family group of nobles during Akbar and Jahangir's reign. In his study he has specifically pointed out that certain nobles and their families (or clans) in due course of time became quite powerful. Some of these families came to enjoy important position at the Mughal court, and even played a role in moulding the imperial policies. Besides that several other monographs and research papers have been published highlighting the role of individual nobles and families of noble.⁴

Mahabat Khan was also one of the leading nobles of Jahangir and Shah Jahan and played very crucial role during the period of both the

¹ *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court (1707-1740)*, August, 1959.

² *Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, revised ed.; Delhi, 1997.

³ *Nobility under Akbar and and Jahangir* (A study of Family groups), Delhi, 1999.

⁴ Iqtidar Alam Khan; *Political biography of a Mughal Noble Munim Khan Khanan* (1497-1574), Aligarh, 1973; Irfan Habib, 'The family of Nur Jahan during Jahangir's reign, A political study' *Medieval India, A Miscellany*, vol.I. Aligarh 1969 and 'The Political Role of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and Shah Waliullah', *Enquiry*, 6, Radhy Shayam, life and time of Malik Amber, Delhi, 1966; Rajiv Navain Prasad, *Raja Man Singh of Ambar*, Calcutta, 1960.

Emperors. Almost all modern works⁵ on Mughal empire have discussed though briefly Mahabat Khan's role in the court politics of Jahangir and Shah Jaha's reign.

But so far no detailed study on Mahabat Khan has been made baring a research paper and a brief study of his career published in Afzal Husain's book.

In the present work we have attempted to present a detailed biographical study of Mahabat Khan in the broader context of the court politics in the reign of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Besides that we have also tried to study his life and the career of his family members.

We have divided our work into five chapters. In the first chapter we have discussed the admission of Mahabat Khan to the imperial service during the last years of Akbar and the services he rendered to the Mughal empire in the time of Jahangir till 1610.

The second chapter covers the period from 1611 to 1620 that is also known as the period of Nur Jahan 'Junta'. This long period of about ten years proved a period of set back to Mahabat Khan. The possible

⁵ Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, Allahabad, 1962; B.P. Saxena, *History of Shah Jahan of Delhi*, Allahabad, 1962; R.P. Tripathi, *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Allahabad, 1987.

contributory factors which restricted Mahabat Khan from have rise has been discussed in this chapter.

Different important aspects like the revolt of Prince Khurram, the reason for the appointment of Mahabat Khan, despite strained relation with the family of Itimad-ud-daula, to suppress the revolt, his success in quelling the rebellion of the Prince, restoration of peace in the Mughal empire and the development of very good relation between Mahabat Khan and prince Parwez and its outcome have been examined in the third chapter.

In the fourth chapter we have analyzed the situation at the Mughal court after the suppression of Khurram's revolt. We have also discussed the circumstances which forced Mahabat Khan to attempt a *coup* and his role in accession crisis after Jahangir's death.

The final or the fifth chapter deals with the power and position enjoyed by Mahabat Khan (till 1634) in the time of Shah Jahan. The political achievements of Mahabat Khan specially during the conquest of Daulatabad and Parenda forts have been described at some length in this chapter.

We have tried to critically evaluate and bring together the entire political career of Mahabat Khan in the conclusion. Besides, the personality and character of Mahabat Khan and the position of his family members at the Mughal court have also been briefly mentioned.

In the preparation of the present work we have consulted almost all the contemporary Persian works such as *Akbarnama*, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, *Iqubalnama-i-Jahangir*; *Badshahnamas* of Lahori and Qazvini. Of the Persian biographical accounts consulted special mention may be made of *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, *Maasir-ul-Umara*, *Tazkirat-ul-Umara* etc., The traveller's account consulted for this work includes, *Early travels in India*, *Jahangirs India*; *The English Factories in India*, *A Contemporary Dutch Chronicles of Mughat India*, *Travels*, *Storio do Mogor*. Besides, we have also used Rajasthani (*Nainsi Ri Khyat* and *Vir Vinod*), Urdu (*Umara-i-Hunud*) and Hindi (*Bir Charitra* and *Jahangir Yas Chandrika*) sources, various Gazetteers, modern works, research papers and articles.

CHAPTER - I

EARLY LIFE AND CAREER OF MAHABAT KHAN

Zaman Beg Kabuli more popularly known in history as Mahabat Khan Khan i-Khana was the son of Ghayur *Beg* Kabuli¹. His ancestors originally belonged to Shiraz, the most celebrated city of Iran. Ghayur *Beg* was Saiyid of Radavi family and belonged to the family of Musa Raza the 8th Shiite Imam².

Ghayur *Beg* left Iran and joined the service of Mirza Mohammad Hakim of Kabul as cavalryman and settled there³. We do not find any specific reason in the sources for the migration of Ghayur *Beg* from Shiraz to Kabul. Possibly he came to Kabul in search of better fortune.

¹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Nuruddin Mohammad Jahangir, ed., Syed Ahmad, pub., Aligarh Press, 1864, p,10; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, Kamgar Hussain, pub., Asia Publishing House Bombay, 1978. ed., Azra Alvi, AMU, Aligarh, p,67; *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, Mutamid khan, Pub., Asiatic society of Bengal, Vol 3, 1865, p,4; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, on p,67; and *Iqbalnama* on p,4. These two latter sources write that Zaman Beg's father name was Gafur Beg's. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Shahnawaz khan, pub., Asiatic society of Bengal. Vol 3; p 385. *Tazkirat-ul-Umara*, Lala kewal Ram, Manuscript Maulana Azad Library. Aligarh p, 50 a Vol 6. *Zakhirat-ul-khawanin* Sheikh Farid Bhakkari. pub., Pakistan Historical Society, Kavachi, 1961-74. Vol.,2 p., 116.

² *Maasir-ul-Umara*. Vol 3. pp 22,28. *Zakhirat-ul-khawanin*, Vol., 2,pp. 116, 270.

³ *Zakhirat-ul-khawanin*, Vol.2,p.,116. *Maasir-ul-Umara*. Vol.3, p,386.

After the death of Mirza Hakim¹ Ghayur Beg came to India and joined the service of emperor Akbar. We have very little information about the career of Ghayur Beg. Farid Bhakkari writes that he served in the imperial army and was sent in several campaigns including Chittor; but it seems he failed to get a rank.² His sons Zamana Beg, therefore joined the service of Prince Salim as an *ahadi*.³ But within a short time by his sincerity and complete devotion he became a great favourite of Salim,⁴ who favoured him with a *mansab* of 500⁵ and also appointed him *Bakhshi* of the *shagird pesha*.⁶

Mahabat Khan remained loyal to the Prince even during the period when he had rebelled against his father and established himself at Allahabad. While Mahabat Khan was serving the Prince at Allahabad the Ujjania Chief of Bhojpur came to offer his submission to prince Salim at Allahabad. The Raja came at the head of a large army and behaved in such a manner that Salim became apprehensive of his intentions.

¹ Mirza Mohammad Hakim was step brother of Akbar and the ruler of Kabul. He Died on 26 July 1585. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Khafi Khan, Pub. Calcutta College press 1869 Vol. 1 p. 163.

² *Zakhirat-ul-khawanin*. Vol. 2, p. 116, *Maasir-ul-Umara*. Vol. 3 p, 386

³ *Tuzuk-i-jahangiri*, trns. (eng) A.Rogers. ed, Beveridge, London royal Asiatic society. 1909. Reprinted, 1994. Vol 1, p,24. *Zakhirat-ul- khawanin*, Vol 2. p,116. *Maasir-ul-Umara*. Vol 3, p,386.

⁴ *Tuzuk*, p,10

⁵ *Tazkirat-ul-umra.*, 50 a.

⁶ *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol 3. p,386. *Zakhirat-ul-khawanin*. says that Mahabat Khan was appointed as a *Bakhshi*.

Therefore he decided to put him to death. He called a secret meeting of his favourite companions and discussed the matter. Zaman Beg came forward and pledged to finish the Raja single handedly. The same night he went to the camp of the Raja alone and after informing the guards that he had an urgent meeting with the Raja, entered the camp and after beheading the Raja, cooly came out and straight away went to the prince and presented trunk of the Raja. As soon as the assassination of the Raja became known, his army was attacked the camp was plundered and the treasure was seized by the army of the prince. This daring act impressed the prince so much that from that day Zaman Beg became one of his closest aids. As a reward he was given many royal favours together with the award of the title of Mahabat Khan; and if Farid Bhakkari is to be believed he was appointed as head of the personal staff of Salim.¹

The author of *Tarikh-i-khan Jahani* writes that a younger brother of Mahabat Khan was one of those who were involved in the conspiracy and when the conspiracy deducted he was also ordered to be hanged. Incidentally when Mahabat Khan reached there, his brother was still alive. Jahangir asked him that if he so desire his brother may be released. Mahabat Khan said nothing went to his brother and killed him with his

¹ *Tuzuk*,p,10. *Zakhirat-ul-khawanin*, Vol 2 pp 116-117. *Maasir-ul-Umara* Vol 3. pp, 386-87. *Maasir-i-jahangiri*. P, 67 *Iqbalnama*, Vol., 3,p,512. *Tazkirat-ul-Umara*. 50a. *Storio Do Magor*, Nicholas Manucci, Vol.,1pp, 161-63.

own sword.¹ Mahabat Khan was promoted to the rank of 1500 after the accession of Jahangir along with other nobles who were his supporters at the accession crisis and were his personal servants.²

Within a short period of his accession Khusrau openly rebelled. Keeping in mind the complete loyalty of Mahabat Khan and his exceptional devotion to the imperial household, the Emperor appointed him to suppress the rebellion and arrest Khusrau. It was also decided that if Khusrau proceeds to Kabul the Emperor himself would follow him and if the prince fled to Badakhshan the emperor would return to India leaving Mahabat at Kabul to defend it from the joint forces of Khusrau and Uzbek. The appointment of Mahabat Khan against a prince clearly indicates that the Emperor had great faith in him. A large and well equipped army was placed under the command of Mahabat Khan³. At the same time to boost up the morale of the imperial army Jahangir himself followed Mahabat Khan.

¹ *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani*. Vol II pp. 691-92 but *Tuzuk*. (pp58-59) and *Iqbalnama* (pp 9, 27) do not mention this incident though they mention the conspiracy.

² *Tuzuk*, p. 10. *Maasir-i-jahangiri*, p. 72. *Maasir-ul-Umara*. Vol. 3; pp; 386 – 87. *Zakhirat-ul-khawanin* Vol. 2; pp. 116-117. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri* Vol. 3; p. 512. *The Apparatus of Empire, Award of ranks, offices and Tittles to the Mughal Nobility,(1574-1658)* Athar Ali, New Delhi. 1985. pp. 42, j. 45.

³ *Iqbalnama* Vol. 3; pp. 514-15; *Waqiyat-i-Jahangiri*, Elliot & Dowson. Vol. 6; p. 229.

The imperial army started pursuing the rebel prince steadily. Finally Mahabat Khan succeeded in arresting the rebel and his companions while they were trying to cross the river Chinab on 27 April 1606. After four days the rebel Prince and his supporters were produced before the Emperor in Lahore. The rebels were given very harsh punishments. Khusrau was placed under the custody of Mahabat Khan.¹

As a reward for his outstanding services, Mahabat Khan was promoted to the *mansab* of 2000/1300². Besides, he was given a drum and robe of honour at the time of his departure from Lahore to Kabul³. In series of quick promotion his position was again raised to 2500/1300 in May 1607. The *pargana* of Mahaban was also given to him in *Jagir*.⁴

In the subsequent period, the custody of prince Khusrau was transferred from Mahabat Khan to *Amir-ul-umara* and Asaf Khan. It seems that the prince had not yet lost the hope of occupying the Mughal throne despite the fact that he was under custody and a large number of his supporters have been executed. He again with the cooperation of some

¹ *Tuzuk*. p.32. *Iqbalnama*. Vol.3; pp.515-16. *Maasir-i-jahangiri*. pp. 86-88. *Waqiyat-i-Jahangiri* pp.300-301; *Maasir-ul-Umara* Vol.1; pp.567-68. *Zakhirat- ul - Khawanin* Vol. 1; p. 135-36; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* Vol.1, p.253; Trevellars. Williom Fitch. p.159. *History of Jahangir, The Empire of Great Mogol, De Laet, tr. J.S.Hoyland and Banerjee, Idara-e- Adbiyet, Delhi, 1928, pp.170-77.*

² *Tuzuk*, p. 36. (In *Tuzuk*. by mistake *sawar* rank is given 300 instead of 1300).

³ *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, P. 97.

⁴ *Tuzuk*. pp.48-49.

younger elements in the nobility hatched a conspiracy to kill him and to occupy the throne and become the Emperor of Hindustan¹.

Khafi Khan states that the plan misfired as prince Khurram came to know about it very shortly and informed the Emperor. The conspirators were immediately arrested and a number of them including a number of Nur Jahan, Nuruddi were executed.² To decide the fate of prince Khusrau Jahangir summoned a meeting of his leading nobles. Keeping in view the repeated rebellious activities of Khusrau Mahabat suggested that it would be advisable to blind him. The suggestion was accepted. It is also ironic to mention that this inhumane act of blinding was performed by Mahabat Khan himself.³ These two incidents considerably raised his position among nobles and became a great confident of the Emperor.⁴

From the very beginning of the establishment of the Mughal empire in India the house of Mewar had been a great challenge to the Mughals. Despite best effort Akbar failed to bring the Sisodias under his subordination. The last campaigns had failed because indifferent attitude

¹ *Tuzuk*, pp. 50, 58. *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3. p. 519. *Waqiyat-i-Jahangiri* p. 315. *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*. pp. 104-05. *Maasir-ul-Umara*. Vol. 1; pp. 93, 129, 134, 561-62, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* Vol. 1; p. 258.

² *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* Vol. 1; p. 258.

³ *Intekhab-i-Jahangir Shahi*, Rotograph CAS, AMU Aligarh pp. 185-86, 196. *History of Jahangir*, Beni Prasad, pub Indian Press Allahabad, 1956; p 135.

⁴ *Tuzuk*. p. 58.

of Salim himself. Therefore soon after ascending the throne (Nov. 1605) Jahangir dispatched a large army under the command prince parwez with specific instructions that incase Amar Singh the ruler of Mewar along with his son Karan Singh agreed to accept the over lordship of the Mughals and join imperial service his state was not be invaded and plundered.¹ But before large scale military operation could start rebelled and consequently the Emperor was forced to recalled the expedition.²

However, after the suppression of the rebellion campaigns were sent to Mewar but not much success was achieved. As a matter of fact for about two years Jahangir could not pay his full attention towards Mewar because of Khusrau's revolt and its adverse consequences and problems in Qandhar. By 1608 the situation in the empire considerably improved therefore now it was decided to give the command of Mewar campaign to Mahabat Khan.³

A number of experienced officers such as Zafar Khan Shujaat Khan, Narain Das, Bir Singh Deo Bundela and a large and well equipped army consisting of 12000 cavalary, 500 *ahadi* and 2000 infantry with

¹ *Tuzuk*. p. 11.

² *Tuzuk*. pp. 33-35. *Iqbalnama* Vol 3 p. 513. *Vir Vinod*, Kavi Rai, Shyalam Das, Delhi, 1996, Vol 2 p. 223.

³ *Tuzuk*. p. 69 *Iqbalnama*. Vol. 3; p. 521; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*. Vol. 1; p. 259; *Vir Vinod*. Vol. 2; p. 224. *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*. p. 115; De Laet, p. 182.

heavy artillery were sent to assist Mahabat Khan. About 20 Lakhs of rupee was sanctioned to be spent in due course of the expedition¹. Mahabat Khan who was expected to bring fruitful result, was promoted to the rank of 3000/2500.² After reaching to his destination Mahabat Khan did not immediate launch an attack on the territory of the Rana; he started making efforts to capture the family of Rana and then pressurize him to surrender before the imperial authority. But soon after he came to know that the family of Rana was hiding somewhere in Jodhpur. Mahabat Khan now seized the *paragana* of Sojat from Raja Sur Singh, the ruler of Jodhpur and assigned it to Rathor Chandrasen on the condition that he will help him to trace the family of the Rana. However, he could not succeed in taking the family of Rana as hostage. Mahabat Khan now advanced from Mohi to Utala and on the way completely defeated his adversaries. A number of military posts were established and officers were appointed. After reaching Utala he decided to organize his army³.

Rana Amar Singh now came to Udaipur from his hidings in the hilly tracts and ordered his supporters to surprise the Mughal army by adopting guerilla technique of warfare. This indicates that the Rajputs

¹ *Tuzuk* p. 69; *Iqbalnama* Vol. 3; p. 521; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* p. 116. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*. Vol. 1; p. 259; *Vir Vinod*; Vol 2 p. 224. Gladwin pp. 43-44.

² *Tuzuk* p. 70 *Iqbalnama* Vol. 3; p. 521; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* p. 116. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* Vol. 1; p. 259 *Maasir-ul-Umara*. Vol. 3; p. 387. *Vir Vinod*. Vol. 2; p. 224.

³ *Vir Vinod*, Vol. 2; pp. 224-261.

army was not in a position to fight the Mughal forces in an open battle. However, even in these engagements large number of the soldiers and *sardars* of the Rana were killed and imprisoned. Raja Kisan Singh and his contingent alone put to death about twenty Rajputs chiefs and imprisoned about 300 of the Rajput soldiers. Mughals were able to extend their control upto Girwa and the Rana finding his position insecure and weak, again took shelter in the hilly region of Mewar¹.

The details pertaining to the victories achieved Mughal army against the Rana till the recall of Mahabat Khan from Mewar to the court (June 1609) are not clearly mentioned in the contemporary Persian sources. From the Tuzuk also we come to know that simply that Mahabat Khan was recalled because his services were required at the court². Presumably the campaign was not very successful and due to that he was summoned to court.

The situation in the Deccan since the accession of Jahangir had gone bad to worse;³ Mughal forces suffered successive defeats, although the emperor at the request of Abdur Rahim Khan had sent a large army

¹ *Tuzuk*. p. 72, *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 118; *Vir Vinod*. Vol. 2; p. 72; Beni Prasad, pp. 228-29.

² *Tuzuk*. p. 74

³ *Tuzuk*. p. 15. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*. Vol. 1; p. 216.

and huge amount of money to help him.¹ Besides, princes Parvez under the guardianship of Asaf Khan and a number of other Mughal *mansabdars* were also appointed to assist the imperial army².

It was alleged that the Mughal armies had failed mainly because of the misunderstanding among commanders and Khan Khana's secret alliance with Malik Ambar. Even Ahmadnagar was lost to Nizamshahi which had been under the Mughal from Akbar's time³. Therefore after returning from Mewar Mahabat Khan was sent to the Deccan to bring Khan-i-Khana to the court who was relieved of the Deccan command. Mahabat Khan was also asked to collect information about the strength of the army of *mansabdars*. He returned to the court in 1610 along with Khan-i-Khana. Deccan campaign under the command of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi also failed. Jahangir now gave the command of the campaign to Khan Azam. Mahabat Khan⁴. Mahabat Khan was again deputed to conduct Aziz Koka along with the army to Burhanpur. He was promoted

¹ *Maasir-ul-Umara*. Vol. 1; pp. 111, Vol. 3; p. 8.

² *Tuzuk*, p. 71, 73, 75, 77, 78. *Iqbalnama* Vol. 3; p. 522. *Maasir-ul-Umara*. Vol 1 p. 702. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* Vol. 1; pp 259-260. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi pub, Sayyed Press, Hyderabad Deccan p 226.

³ *Tuzuk*, p. 86-88, *Iqbalnama*. Vol. 3; p. 25, *Maasir-ul-Umara*. Vol. 1; pp. 703. 718-19. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* Vol. 1; p. 261-62. *Basatin-us-Salatin*. p. 268-70.

⁴ *Tuzuk*. pp. 86, 88, 89, *Maasir-ul-Umara*. Vol 1 pp. 703, 687, 719, *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* p. 132-33. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*. Vol. 1; p. 262. Gladwin pp. 49-50.

to the rank of 4000/3500¹ at this time. Being one of the most trusted nobles of Jahangir he was given specific instructions to make the Mughal officers posted at Burhampur to be fully aware about their responsibilities, to enquire into the causes of the successive defeat of the Mughal army, to encourage the nobles to perform their duties with full devotion and sincerity and also to collection information of actual number of the troopers serving under *mansabadars* in the Deccan. After completing the task given to him Mahabat Khan returned to the court at Agra on 23rd June 1611² and submitted his report to the Emperor. Unfortunately the detail of his report has not been mentioned by any of the contemporary sources. But it appears that Jahangir was fully satisfied with his services that he rendered in the Deccan.

But consistent efforts of Jahangir to settle the Decean affair failed substantially because of Malik Ambar and internal dissensions of the Mughal officers³. Therefore, Mahabat Khan who was present at the court for almost two years and had not been given any important duty except for bringing Mirza Aziz Koka to court in 1614 from Udaipur, was

¹ *Tuzuk*, pp. 88, 89.

² *Tuzuk*, pp. 88, 89, *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 133-34. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. 3; p. 526. Gladwin p. 49-50. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 271.

³ Beni Prasad, p. 135.

appointed in 1615 to lead the Deccan campaign.¹ Other officers like Khan-i-jahan and Suraj Singh were also ordered to assist Mahabat Khan. At the time of departure Mahabat Khan as usual was given a robe of honour by the Emperor. On this occasion an additional rank of 1700 *du aspa sih aspa* was added to his *mansab*. Mahabat Khan proceeded to the Deccan with a grand army consisting of 30,000 cavalry, 330 prominent, 3000 *ahadis* and heavy artillery. The emperor sanctioned rupees thirty lacs to be spent in due course of struggle in the Deccan².

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 153-54. *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3; p. 539-40. *Maasir-ul-Umara*. Vol. 2; p. 48-49, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1; p. 286-85.

² *Tuzuk*, p. 108, *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 203.

CHAPTER II

POSITION OF MAHABAT KHAN DURING THE PERIOD OF SO-CALLED NUR JAHAN JUNTA (1611-1620)

Beni Prasad's *History of Jahangir* has aroused a controversy on his hypothesis that a faction or 'Junta' of Nur Jahan was formed soon after her marriage with emperor Jahangir, enjoyed unlimited power and influence at the court¹. Itimad-uld-daula, Asaf Khan and Prince Khurram, (who was married to the daughter of Asaf Khan), were prominent members of this group.² Beni Prasad also writes that of promotions and rewards in the empire depended entirely on the good will of these bonafide members of Junta³. It is surprising to note that Beni Prasad excludes emperor Jahangir as being an integral part of this body. According to him, because of the concentration of all powers into the hands of a band comprising the members of a family and its well wishers or close associates a large section of the nobility failed to receive promotions that they should have received. As a consequence a group

¹ Beni Prasad, p. 159-72.

² *Ibid.*, p. 160-63.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

opposed to the Junta also emerged and the revolt of Khurram and *coup d'etat* of Mahabat Khan was the ultimate results of this division¹.

Some of the prominent modern historians such as Nurul Hasan reject the above assumption of Beni Prasad. He is of the view that the period between 1611-1620 should not be studied historically as a period of Nur Jahan 'Junta'². Because it misleads and contradicts many other important aspects of this long period. He completely disagrees with the view of Beni Prasad that the court of Jahangir was broadly decided into two opposite camps. The first consisted of the Nur Jahan Junta and its allies and the other were opponents of the Junta. The spokesman of the second faction was Mahabat Khan and due to that Mahabat Khan failed to receive promotions in his rank and important assignments.³

Nurul Hasan has also provided a long list of those Mughal nobles who, according to Beni Prasad did not belong to the 'Junta', but received regular promotions⁴. But at the same time Nurul Hasan supports the view that Nur Jahan enjoyed considerable powers from 1611 to 1620 and even afterwards.

¹ Beni Prasad, pp. 171-172.

² 'Theory of Nur Jahan Junta', Nurul Hasan, *Proceeding, Indian History Congress*, 1958. pp.324-25.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

⁴ *Ibid.*, . P. 329.

As mentioned earlier Mahabat Khan who was one of the closest associates of emperor Jahangir from the time of his prince hood and continued to receive all kinds of favour and promotion till 1611. But in comparison to the influence and position enjoyed by Mahabat Khan before the marriage of Jahangir with Nur Jahan in 1611 the subsequent period indicates that his position as a leading noble of Jahangir was greatly undermined. Although during the same period i.e. 1611-1620 he continued to serve the Mughal empire with complete loyalty and rendered valuable services on different occasions. It is also true that he was not removed from the nobility perhaps because of the fact that it was against the well established tradition of the Mughals. Besides, by the year 1611 Mahabat Khan had proved himself as the most loyal noble of Jahangir and on almost all occasions he had emerged successful. It is also very strange to note that during the above period his family members continue to receive regular promotions.

It seems to be an important aspect of our study to inquire the possible contributory factors which would have played some vital role in undermining the influence and promotion of Mahabat Khan. To begin with, as elaborated in different works, Nur Jahan succeeded in establishing her influence at the court shortly after her marriage. She was fortunate enough for belonging to the family of Itmad-ud-daula which

had closely been associated with the Mughal court and had several members of the family served on important position for a quite long period¹. On account of this Nur Jahan found the full support of her family. In concentrating the power she needed not the immediate support of the other nobles. Moreover, as Nur Jahan was a lady full of wisdom and a sincere beloved to her husband she very soon won the confidence of the Emperor. A considerable number of sources confirm that Nur Jahan, his family members and those who were in her good faith enjoyed great power and prestige at Jahangir's court².

Mahabat Khan as a prominent noble was the product of emperor Jahangir and not that of Nur Jahan or his family members. From the very beginning of Jahangir's reign Mahabat Khan had saved the Mughal Empire from turmoil and political choas. He had also proved that nothing was dearer to him than the well being of the Emperor. As mentioned

¹ *Tuzuk* p. 129, *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 512; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 65, 72. *Maasir-ul-Umra*, Vol. 1, p. 129; Thomas Roe in, *European Travellers. Under the Mughal (1580-1627)* ed.M.A.Ansari,Adara-i-Adbiyat-i-Delhi,1975,p.74, writes that khurram, Nurjahan, Asaf Khan and Itimad-ul-daula were "Supreme" and governed "all" . Willian Hawkin in his *Early Travels in India* (pp.68,94) says, Ghiyas Beg, father of the celebrated Nurjahan, (Whom Jahangir had just espoused) was made vizir. His son, known later as Asaf Khan, was also in great favour;. Now one Ghiyas Beg, Being the king's chief treasurer, was made chief Vazir, and his daughter married with the king, being his chief queen or pavamer. The vazir son and myself were great friends, he having been often at my home, and was now exalted to high dignities by the king"

² *Iqbalnama*. Vol. 3, p. 529; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 143-44; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin* Sec 1, p. 14. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. pp. 132-33.

earlier he even killed his brother for the sake of the empire¹. The alleged undue interference in the affairs of the administration by Nur Jahan was considered by a number of nobles as a source of multifarious not deemed problems for the Mughal empire, which was the immediate source of power to Mahabat Khan and others. Some of them strongly resented the dominant position enjoyed by the family of Itmad-ud-daula and the promotions in rank assignments being given not on the basis of merit but on account of relationship. Mahabat Khan raised these points in the presence of Emperor. The author of *Intekhab-i-jahangir Shahi* writes that Nurjahan had attained a dominant influence over the affairs of the state and that Mahabat Khan in the presence of many senior and prominent nobles like Khan-i-Jahan Lodi and Khan-i-Alam complained to the Emperor about this state of affairs². He also pleaded the Emperor for the release of Khusrau from confinement. Both Khan-i-Jahan Lodi and Khan-i-Alam agreed to the proposal of Mahabat Khan. As a result Khusrau was placed under the custody of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi. Prince was also allowed to pay his respect at the court. On account of the pursuance of Mahabat Khan the Emperor also ordered for a proper treatment of his eyes³. For a few days after the representation of Mahabat Khan, Jahangir remained

¹ *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani* Vol 2, p. 690, 192.

² *Intekhab-i-Jahangiri Shahi*. (E&D) Vol. 6, pp. 451-52.

³ *Ibid.*, (E&D) Vol. 6, p. 452.

reserved in his demeanor towards the empress, but when Mahabat Khan left the court at Pakli, the Emperor again fell under Nurjahan's control¹.

From the above discussion it clearly emerges that the family of Nur Jahan played a decisive role in moulding the outlook of Jahangir and that favourite nobles of Jahangir like Mahabat Khan and others completely disliked it. Nur Jahan despite being the most powerful authority at the court could not eliminate Mahabat Khan completely as it would create a havoc in the mind of other nobles. Beside, as mentioned, she was fully aware of the contributions of Mahabat Khan and his relation with Jahangir as well as his popularity and respect among the Rajput chiefs. Because of these reasons, Mahabat Khan was not removed from his services which were required on different occasions. He was also awarded with robe of honors, but was not given promotion; he still held the rank of 4000/35000. But it is quite interesting to note that his sons were given promotion regularly.

Mahabat Khan was promoted to the rank of 4000/3500 in 1610² after his return from the Deccan. During the next two years he was not given any important duty, and he remained at the court. In 1614 he was given

¹ *Intekhab-i-Jahangir Shahi* (E&D) Vol. 6, pp. 451-52.

² *Tuzuk* p. 89.

additional *Jagir* worth 3 Crore *dams*¹. In 1615, 1700 of his rank were converted into *du aspa sih aspa* when he was appointed to serve in the Deccan along with Khan-i-Jahan Lodi. But this promotion too proved of temporary nature². *Tuzuk* corresponding to the year 1617 states that the *du aspa sih aspa* rank of Mahabat Khan was withdrawn and his *jagirs* assigned against this additional *mansab* was accordingly reduced³.

Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri helps us to know the causes of the resumption of his *du aspa sih aspa* rank. Mutamid Khan says that when Khurram was appointed to the Deccan, and Parwez transferred to Allahabad, Mahabat Khan was dispatched to Burhanpur to conduct Parwez to Allahabad after collecting the revenues. Mutamid Khan does not mention that Mahabat Khan was already serving in the Deccan. Apparently, upon his return from Allahabad he fell into some disfavour with Khurram leading to the withdrawal of the special rank⁴.

In 1617 Mahabat Khan on the instigation of Khurram and the family of Itimad-ud-daula with whom his relations were strained was removed

¹ *Ahwal*, p. f-8b.

² *Tuzuk*, p. 147, *Masir-i-Jahangiri* p. 205.

³ *Tuzuk*, p. 190. *The Apparatus of Mughal Empire* pp. 64 J-734.

⁴ *Iqbalnama*, p. 92, but he gives reference to neither the assignment of the *du aspa sih aspa* rank nor its withdrawal.

from the court and appointed to the distant province of Kabul¹. Mahabat Khan was so disheartened from the decision of the Emperor that he decided to flee to Iran after he had reached Kabul. But his son Khanzad Khan wisely managed to scare away his men and he had to give up the idea². *Tuzuk* also indicates the disfavour of the Emperor to Mahabat Khan during this period. Jahangir in the account of the fourteenth regnal year writes, as Mahabat Khan had been prevented from the good fortune of coming before me for a long time I ordered at his request that if he was satisfied with the order of affairs and was not troubled with regard to any occurrence he should leave his force at their posts (*thanas*) and come to court unattended³. It is also significant to mention that Khan-i-Jahan Lodi was also summoned to court in 1617⁴; and that he remained there without any important duty being given to him until his posting in Multan in 1620.

It is clear from the above discussion that the position of Mahabat Khan during 1611-1620 in term of rank remained stagnant on account of indifferent attitude of Itimad-ud-Daula's family, Khurram and also to some extent due to his friendly relation with Parvez. At the same time it

¹ *Tuzuk* pp. 196, 199, *Iqbalnama*, Vol 3, p. 547.

² *Zakhirat-ul-khuawanin*, Vol. 2, pp. – 117-118. *Masir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 387.

³ *Tuzuk*, pp. 191-92, *Tuzuk* (R & B) Vol. I, pp. 38-85.

⁴ *Tuzuk*, 195, *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 547; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 248.

would be wrong to say that Jahangir in person was hostile to Mahabat Khan. Although Mahabat Khan was kept in reserve but his presence was not completely ignored by the Emperor. As a result, on the recommendation of Mahabat Khan the Emperor appointed in 1617 Rashid Khan to serve in Kabul¹. Next year in 1618 it was on the request of Mahabat Khan that his son Amanullah and Izzat Khan both were promoted to the rank of 1500/800 and 100/300 respectively². To honour Mahabat Khan and his son Amanullah serving in Kabul the Emperor in 1619 sent special rewards, consisting of special kinds of valuable articles³. Besides, in the same year the *mansab* of Amanullah was increased to 1500/800⁴ and Jahangir on his way to Kashmir wished to see Mahabat Khan at Karohi⁵. As mentioned earlier it was on the suggestion of Mahabat Khan that Khusrau was released and permitted to pay his respects to the Emperor⁶. At the time of his departure from Karohi Mahabat Khan was again given robe of honour by Jahangir⁷. In the following year (1620) the *mansab* of two nobles namely Mubariz Khan

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 199.

² *Tuzuk*, pp. 246, 48

³ *Tuzuk*, pp. 269-70, 74

⁴ *Tuzuk*, p. 74

⁵ *Tuzuk*, pp. 287-88; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 558

⁶ *Intekhab-i-Jahangir Shahi*. 452

⁷ *Tuzuk*, pp. 289-90

Afghan and Sardar Afghan was increased to 2000/1700 and 1000/400 respectively by the Emperor on the request of Mahabat Khan¹. Not only this Anirai Singh Dalan was appointed to serve in Bangash by Jahangir on the suggestion of Mahabat Khan². While returning back from Kashmir the Emperor sent an elephant popularly known as Jaisingh by Safiya, the servant of Mahabat Khan, to Kabul³. Similarly, the *mansab* of *Lachin Kakshal Munazzin* was raised to 1000/500 on the recommendation of Mahabat Khan⁴. It was only in 1622 that Mahabat Khan was awarded the title of *Rukn-us-Sultanat*. Moreover, Hakim Munim sent by Mahabat Khan to the Emperor was accepted as royal physician⁵. In the same year the son of Mahabat Khan named Amanullah was promoted twice to the *mansab* of 2000/1800 and 3000/1700⁶.

The year 1622 proved to be a very difficult time for the Mughal empire as a consequence of the attack of Qandhar by the Persians⁷ which was followed by the revolt of Khurram. As we know that Jahangir was forced to cancel his plan to recover Qandhar because he decided first to

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 320

² *Tuzuk*, p. 305

³ *Tuzuk*, p. 323

⁴ *Tuzuk*, p. 329

⁵ *Tuzuk*, pp. 343-44. *Iqbalnama* Vol. 3, 579

⁶ *Tuzuk*, p. 344,48

⁷ *Tuzuk*, pp. 343-45, *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, pp. 579-80; *Maasir-i-Jahanagiri*, p. 345; *Zakhirat-ut-Khawanin* Sec. 1, p. 19

deal with the internal problem created by Khurram¹. In this hour of crisis only the best and the most loyal of the Mughal nobles and commanders were to be selected. Jahangir himself, as discussed earlier, who had not been hostile to Mahabat Khan decided to appoint him to deal with Khurram firmly because Mahabat Khan had strained relation with the rebel⁵.

We may thus conclude that the Mughal court was not divided into two separate factions i.e., 'the adherents of the Nur Jahan Junta and their opponents' as envisaged by Beni Prasad². However, it would not be incorrect to say the family of Itimad-ud-daula had become very influential, and as a result of its mechanizations, Mahabat Khan and Khan-i-Jahan Lodi were sent to distant provinces, and Mahabat Khan was not given promotion in rank for a very long period. But the critics of Itimad-ul-daula's family were also not united among themselves so as to form a group. For example, Mahabat Khan, *Khan-i-Jahan* Lodi and Abdullah Khan were themselves greatly hostile to each other. On the other hand, the family of Itmad-ud-daula itself from 1620 onwards was divided, Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan pulling in different directions. As a matter of fact we hardly notice a family group with permanent loyalties; their attitude and the attitude of even individual nobles substantially underwent a change with the passage of time on the basis of their personal interest.³

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 354

² Beni Prasad p. 179

³ For a good discussion on this topic, see, Afzal Hussain, *The Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir*, 'A study of family groups', New Delhi, 1999.

CHAPTER III

ROLE OF MAHABAT KHAN DURING KHURRAM'S REVOLT (1622-1626)

Khusrau's revolt and the failure of Parvez in the Mewar and Deccan campaigns paved the way for the rise of Khurram. He proved himself as the most competent military commander of the Mughal Empire by his successful campaigns in Mewar and Deccan. Jahangir himself not only awarded him the title of 'Shahjahan' and promoted to the exceptional high rank of 30,000/20,000 but also granted the *Jagir* of Hissar Firoza which was generally assigned to the heir-apparent and most favorite son of the emperor¹.

From the remarks of Farid Bhakkari it clearly emerges that the death of Khusrau in January, 1622 proved a turning point for Nurjahan. From this time onwards Nurjahan started preparing ground for placing to the throne a candidate of her own choice who would represent the Mughal empire on her behalf. The choice of Nurjahan could not fall on Prince Khurram because he was highly ambitious and according to *Zakhirat-u-l Khawanin* Nurjahan had realised from her dealing that the

¹ *Tuzuk*, pp. 63, 195, *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 547; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 249-52. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* Vol. I, p. 293. According to Khafi Khan, Jahangir at that time nominated Shahjahan as his heir apparent

that the prince (Khurram) would not agree to share power with her. Therefore, in the given situation Prince Shahryar was regarded as the best and most suitable candidate for the throne. To execute her plan, she started patronising prince Shahryar by marrying her daughter Ladli Begum to him and making all efforts to weaken prince Khurram by creating a rift between him and his father Jahangir¹.

While all these manipulations were going at the Mughal court Shah Abbas Safavi, ruler of Iran, invaded Qandhar in 1622². As soon as Jahangir came to know of the attack on Qandhar he summoned Khurram to the court to lead an army against the Persian invaders³. As prince Khurram had become fully acquainted with the plan of Nurjahan he decided to make his position secure before proceedings on a difficult campaign far away from the capital. Therefore, before leaving from Qandhar Khurram; to make his position secure demanded besides control over Punjab and Kabul the *Jagir* of Dholpur. Unfortunately before the petition sent by prince Khurram reached the emperor the *jagir* of Dholpur

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 320. *Zakhirat ul Khawanin*, Sec. I, p. 19. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. II, p. 192. *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 573.

² *Tuzuk*, pp. 343-45; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, pp. 579,80; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 346, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. I, p. 327, *Waqiyat-i-Jahangiri*, E & D, Vol. 6, p. 383. *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, I, p. 19. *English Factories* (1613-21) p. 333 (1622-23) p. 991. *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 55.

³ *Tuzuk*, pp. 343-45. *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, pp. 579-80; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 345; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. I p. 19.

had already been assigned to Shahryar on the suggestion of Nurjahan¹. It led to an armed struggle between the forces of prince Khurram and prince Shahryar as both of them claimed the *jagir* of Dholpur belonging to them². The arrogance displayed by prince Khurram very much annoyed Jahangir. Thus Nurjahan exploited the situation and succeeded in creating rift between father and son. Prince Khurram tried to explain his stand by sending Afzal Khan to the Emperor requesting him to take decision independently and not to totally depend on Nurjahan's wisdom. Afzal Khan was not allowed to meet the Emperor.³ The Emperor became so unhappy with Khurram that the *jagir* of Hissar Firoza and Doab held by him was assigned to prince Shahryar who was now supposed to lead the Qandhar campaign. He was also ordered to take the charge of Malwa and Gujrat and to settle the affairs of the Deccan. He was also instructed to send back the royal officers to the court. The assignment of the *jagir* of Hissar Firoza and the *Doab* to Shahryar was a clear indication that

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 345, *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 247-48, *Amal-i-Salih* Vol. I, pp. 166-68; *Badshahnama*, Qazvini, pp. 197-98. *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin* Sec. I, p. 19.

² *Tuzuk*, p. 346; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, 580. *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 351; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin* Sec. I, p. 19. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 146; *Waqiyat-i-Jahangiri*, (E&D) Vol. 6, p. 383-84.

³ *Tuzuk*, p. 347-48; *Iqbalnama* Vol. 3, p. 580-81; *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. I, pp. 170-71; *Badshahnama*, Qazvini, p. 200-01, *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 146-47. *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. I, p. 19. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. I pp. 331-32; *Waqiyat-i-Jahangiri* (E & D) Vol. 6, p. 384.

Nurjahan was openly preferring and patronising prince Shahryar as heir-apparent against prince Khurram¹.

As it is evident from different sources that emperor Jahangir was being guided to a larger extent by Nurjahan at this time. But Khurram was not prepared to act upon the guidelines of Nurjahans. He neither went to take the charges of new assignments nor sent the Mughal officers to the court. At this juncture there were two options left before the prince. The first was to bow before Nurjahan and the second one was to raise the banner of the revolt. It would not be wrong to say that prince Khurram over estimated his power and position and because of this he proceeded from Burhanpur to Agra² with a large army on the plea that he was coming to the court to meet the emperor and to prove himself as innocent³. This was not to be taken as a normal visit to the court at Delhi by prince, But was to be regarded as an open rebellion⁴. Jahangir in his *Tuzuk* mentions that the main reason to move towards Agra by prince Khurram was not to meet his father but to sieze the royal treasure which was being carried on from Agra to Delhi at this time. By bringing the

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 348; *Iqbalnama* Vol. 3, p. 581, *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 146; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 354.

² *Tuzuk*, pp. 353-54; *Waqiyat-i-Jahangiri* (E&D) Vol. 6, pp. 384-85. *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 582.

³ *Iqbalnama* Vol. 3, p. 583.

⁴ *Tuzuk*, p. 354. *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 582.

treasure at his disposal Prince Khurram wanted to strengthen his position¹.

The rebellious activities of prince Khurram were taken very seriously by the Emperor. He sent orders to different nobles and princes to suppress the revolt². Mahabat Khan who had some misunderstanding with prince Khurram was supposed by Jahangir and Nur Jahan as the best choice to be deputed against the rebel prince³. Because of this a royal *farman* with the nishan of Nur Jahan was sent to Mahabat Khan ordering him to come to immediately come to court. However, before leaving Kabul he requested Jahangir to transfer Asaf Khan from the governorship of Bengal and to punish Mutamid Khan because both of them were in secret alliance with rebel prince. It was only after the request of Mahabat Khan was accepted he came to the court in January 1623.⁴ Before launching the offensive against the rebel Mahabat Khan first of all

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 353, But *Dutch chronicle of India* (p.56) gives a different story. According to it Asaf Khan informed Shahjahan about the treasure. He wrote to him that as soon as he left Agra with the treasure, the prince should rapidly follow him in the region between Agra and Delhi, and he would hand over the treasure to him. The plan was very pleasing and acceptable to the prince who hoped through this means to successfully carry out his intention. This is improbable, Asaf Khan, though he was Shahjahan's father-in-law, remained loyal to Jahangir.

² *Tuzuk*, p. 354. *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, pp. 582-83.

³ *Tuzuk*, p. 354; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, pp. 582; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 360; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, p. 334.

⁴ *Tuzuk*, pp.353, 345, *Iqbalnama*, vol.3, pp.581-82, *Zakhirat-ul Khawanin*, Sec. I p.19. *Ahwal-i-Shahjahan Padshah*, 18b,-19b. *Masir-i-Jahangiri*, pp.354-57. *Masir-ul-Umara*, vol.I, p.152., *Muntakhab-ul Lubab*, vol.I, pp.332-33.

punished all those who were suspected to be informer of the rebel, prince. At this time Mahabat Khan was promoted to the rank of 6000/5000 and given the command of the grand imperial army against Khurram. His son was promoted to the rank of 3000/1800 and sent to Kabul to look after his father's *Jagir*¹ Prince Parwez was also ordered to leave Allahabad and came to the court immediately.²

Since the problem of Qandhar was a matter of prestige to the Mughal empire Jahangir first tried to win over prince Khurram over so that he would pay his full attention and strength for the recovery of Qandhar. Due to this, Jahangir sent Moosvi Khan to prince Khurram with the direction to obey the command of the Emperor and to change his arrogant attitude³. But Moosvi Khan failed to peruse him. In return, he sent Qazi Abdul Aziz as his representative at the court with painful remarks on Jahangir that he was managing the affairs of the state on the guidelines prepared by Nur Jahan. Prince Khurram also requested the Emperor for the reassignment of his previous *jagir*. But Jahangir paid no

¹ *Tuzuk*, p.348, *Ahwal*, pp.18b-19b, *Iqbalnama*, vol.3, p.582, *Masir-i-Jahangiri*, pp.354-55; *Masir-ul-Umara*, vol.1, p.152, *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. 1, p.20, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, vol.I, pp.332-33. *Masir-i-Jahangiri*, states that the *Mansab* of Mahabat Khan was increased to 5000/5000.

² *Tuzuk*, pp. 344, 52,53; *Iqbalnama*, vol. 3, p.581, *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. I, p.19.

³ *Tuzuk*, p. 352-53, *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, 582; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 361; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*. Vol 1, p. 333.

attention to the proposals and demands of the prince and ordered Mahabat Khan to arrest Abdul Aziz¹.

At last Jahangir decided not to send the expedition to Qandhar². He left Lahore in Jan. 1623 for Delhi with the sole objective to punish the rebel. By the time Jahangir reached the capital all the leading *mansabdars* of the empire with their contingents had already arrived there.³ The emperor appointed Mahabat Khan as the commander-in-chief of the imperial army that was likely to be deputed against prince Khurram.⁴

On 10 March, 1623 Shahjahan came to know of the arrival of the rebel prince at Shahpur near Mathura with a large army of twenty seven thousand. Shortly afterwards the Emperor was informed that the prince had reached Bilochpur. To boost up the morale of the imperial army the Emperor himself encamped at Kabulpur.⁵ Mahabat Khan before launching offensive against Prince Khurram divided the entire imperial army consisting of 26000 soldiers into three parts. The first division of the army with ten thousand soldiers was placed under Abdullah Khan. The second division with an army of 1,8000 was led by Asaf Khan while

¹ *Tuzuk*, p.355, *Iqbalnama*, vol.3, p.583. *Masir-i-Jahangiri*, p.361, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, vol.I, p.334; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec.I, p.20.

² *Tuzuk*, p.354.

³ *Ibid.* p.355. *Iqbalnama*, vol.3, p.583.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.356-57, *Iqbalnama*, vol.3, p.583, *Waqiyat-i-Jahangiri* (E & D), vol.6, p.386.

the third division was commanded by Khawaja Abul Hasan. The army of prince Khurram which was under the command of Darab Khan and Raja Bikramajit came into clash with the imperial army at Bilochpur on 29 March, 1623. A fierce battle ensued between the two armies. When the fight was on its peak Abdullah Khan in accordance with his earlier secret alliance with Khurram deserted the imperialists and joined the army of rebel prince. It created a grave situation for the imperialists. But the situation changed in favour of the imperial army when Bikramjit, the commander was killed in the battle-field. It resulted into the flight of rebel prince. Prince Khurram left the field and moved towards Ajmer and reached there on 9 May 1623¹.

Before sending Mahabat Khan against the rebel prince the Emperor awarded with special robe of honour to him. Besides, Amanullah Khan, son of Mahabat Khan though in Kabul at that time was also promoted to the rank of 4000/4000 by Jahangir to please Mahabat Khan². On 24 April 1623 the emperor finally deputed prince Parwez under the guardianship of Mahabat Khan against prince Khurram from Fatehpur with a large

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 357-60, *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 363-66, *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 583-84; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 2, p. 194-95, 781, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 335-36, *Waqiyat-i-Jahangiri*, (E&D) Vol. 6, p. 386, *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, p. 118, Dutch Chronicle p. 57. Different sources give different figures of the army of rebel.

² *Tuzuk*, p. 358-59. *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 584.

army. They were given specific instructions by Jahangir to arrest the rebel alive if possible or to kill him¹.

When prince Khurram came to know that Mahabat Khan and Prince Parwez with a large army had been deputed against him he left Ajmer and moved towards Mandu. After reaching to Mandu the rebel Prince again strengthened his position by raising a large army. A hotly contested battle took place at Mandu. During the battle which took place in August 1623 a number of supporters of the rebel like Rustam Khan, Saif Khan etc. deserted him and joined the service under Prince Parwez. Their desertion greatly weakened the position of prince Khurram and forced him to leave the ground. Prince Khurram crossed the river Narbada² and reached Burhanpur safely. He left many of his officers like Bairam Beg and Darab Khan with sufficient troops who successfully guarded the bank of the river and prevented the imperialists from crossing it³.

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 360-61, 377. *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 584. *Dutch chronicle*, p. 67.

² *Tuzuk*, p. 367-68, *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 586. *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* p. 375-77, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. I p. 174, *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 2 p. 200-201. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. I, p. 339, *Waqiyat-i-Jahangiri*, (E&D) Vol. 6, p. 387. *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, sec. I. p. 21, *Dutch chronicle*, p. 62.

³ *Tuzuk*, p. 369, *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 586. *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 377. *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sect. 37. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. p. 399; *Wagiyar-i-Jahangiri* (E&D) Vol. 6, p. 388; *Dutch chronicle*, p. 66.

Emperor Jahangir was pleased enough on account of the successive failure of prince Khurram and the role of Mahabat Khan. He, therefore, sent a *farman* to Mahabat Khan raising his mansab to the highest exceptional limit of 7000/7000. At the same time Khanzad Khan, son of Mahabat Khan was also promoted to the high rank of 5000/5000¹.

After reaching Mandu, Prince Khurram sought the help of Sultan Adil Shah of Bijapur but he received no assurance in response. Hard pressed by the prevailing situation and finding no help from any side prince Khurram sent Sarbuland Rai to Mahabat Khan for negotiation².

Mahabat Khan now realizing the weak position of the rebel put certain conditions for any negotiation with him. He clearly intimated the rebel prince that if he wanted peace he should send Khan-i-Khanan, to intermediate³. The Prince agreed to the proposal but kept Darab Khan, son of Khan-i-Khanan under his custody as a token of loyalty. Khan-i-Khana was instructed to settle the affair from that side of the river guarded by the army of prince Khurram. But when he reached the bank of the river the imperialists had already crossed it by defeating the army of prince Khurram. Now Khan-i-Khanan was in great dilemma and finally

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 369; *The Apparatus of Mughal Empire*, p. 83.

² *Tuzuk*, p. 378.

³ *Tuzuk*, p. 371.

joined Mahabat Khan¹. When prince Khurram came to know about the association of Khan-i-Khana and defeat of his army he lost his courage. The rebel left Mandu and by crossing the river Tapti with great difficulties and moved to Orissa and Bengal by way of Golconda. By this time the position of prince Khurram had been greatly destroyed due to his regular defeat. As a result Mahabat Khan returned to Burhanpur and received different kinds of awards by Jahangir for his meritorious deeds².

When emperor Jahangir came to know that prince Khurram with view to re-establish his authority and strengthen his position had decided to go to Bengal. Jahangir, therefore, issued a *farman* in March 1624 to Mahabat Khan and Prince Parwez to consolidate the royal authority in the Deccan as soon as possible and leave the province for Allahabad and Bengal against the rebel Prince³. Mahabat Khan and prince Perwez after

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 371-72, *Iqbalnama*, p. 587, *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 379-81, *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. I, p. 50-51, Vol. 2 p. 181. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 341-42, *Dutch chronicle* p. 66, *Wagiyal-i-Jahangiri* (E&D) Vol. 6, pp. 388-89, *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 2, p. 16, Vol. 1, pp. 707-399.

² *Tuzuk*, pp. 372-73, *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 587, *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 145, *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. I, p. 51-52; Vol. I, *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 381, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. I, p. 342, *Waqiyat-i-Jahangiri* (E&D), Vol. 6, p. 389, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. I, p. 177.

³ *Tuzuk*, p. 380, *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 589, *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 389. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. I, p. 343, *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, p. 179.

managing the affairs of The Deccan, proceeded towards Bihar and Bengal. On 21 March 1624¹.

As mentioned above Prince Khurram having left Mandu was approaching to Allahabad and Bengal by way of Golconda. When the rebel prince sought the help of Qutbul Mulk of Golconda his request was not entertained. From there Prince Khurram entered the territory of Orissa². When Ahmad Beg, the nephew of Ibrahim then the governor of the place came to know about the arrival of the Prince, he was struck with terror and leaving everything he took to flight. The entire treasure of Orissa fell into the hands of the Prince. Beside, a considerable number of the *mansabdars* also joined his service. Prince Khurram established his control in the province and appointed Shah Quli Khan as its governor. He left Orissa and reached Bengal quickly. In the battle fought at Rajmahal between Ibrahim Khan of Decca and Prince Khurram the rebel prince emerged victorious and gained large booty. He as a victorious rebel now who subdued the whole of the province of Bengal³. Afterwards, the rebel

¹ *Tuzuk*, pp. 381-86, *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 589, 293, *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 518, 140, Vol 2, p. 209, Vol. 3, p. 389. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, p. 344, *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, p. 120-21.

² *Tuzuk*, p. 382, *Iqbalnama* Vol. 3, p. 588, *Waqayat-i-Jahangiri* (E&D) Vol. 6, pp. 389-911.

³ *Tuzuk*, p. 384, *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 591, *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 393-94, *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 1, pp. 138-39, *Tazkirat-ul-Umra*, p. 4b. *Dutch chronicle*, p. 68, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 345. According to Dutch chronicle, Ibrahim Khan

returned to Patna. The governor of Patna Mukhlis Khan was not in a position to fight against the prince and so he surrendered and fled to Rustam Qandhari at Allahabad who imprisoned him¹. Raja Ujjainiya also joined him at Patna with a large army².

From the above developments it is widely evident that right from the defeat of prince Khurram at Mandu till his success in Bengal he had greatly regained his lost position. Not only this, on account of his revolt a large part of Mughal empire was facing political chaos and the problems of law and order had spread. All these developments greatly worried the Emperor³. As mentioned in the preceding discussion that Jahangir had deputed Mahabat Khan and Prince Parwez with a large army and leading nobles of the empire. When the rebel came to know that the imperial army under Mahabat Khan had crossed Kalpi river, he immediately deputed Abdullah Khan, Raja Bhim, Bairam Beg and others to protect the fort of Allahabad and to prevent their movement. Abadullah Khan after reaching the destination collected a large amount of tribute from

was captured and finally killed. After that all his property, including his women children came into custody of prince Khurram. pp. 67-68.

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 382, *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 589, *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, pp. 136-37, 194, 95, Vol. 3, p. 367, *Dutch chronicle*, p. 67.

² *Tuzuk*, p. 385, *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 591.

³ *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 395-96; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 346. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, pp. 428-29, *Dutch chronicle*, p. 67, *Zakhirat-ul-Khawarin*, Vol. 7, p. 52, Vol. 2, p. 278

Allahabad and its neighbouring chiefs. Rustam Khan, the *quiledar* of the fort opposed the high handedness of Abdullah Khan and fought for many days but was compelled to withdraw into the fort. But he defended the fort bravely. Abdullah Khan left the place after plundering it and taking the family of Rustam Khan as prisoners¹.

Mahabat Khan and prince Parwez reached Allahabad immediately after it had been sacked by Abdullah Khan. Rustam Khan welcomed the royal prince and the commander and opened the gate of the fort. Afterwards Mahabat Khan with leading nobles of the empire like Raja Jai Singh, Raja Chandra, Raja Bir Singh Bundela and other Turani and Irani officers managed to cross the river Ganges without any opposition on the part of rebel prince².

Prince Khurram tried to prevent the imperial army from entering into Patna. He for this purpose ordered Khan Dauran to attack the royal forces led by Aaka Mohammad Zaman. A hotly contested battle ensued at Jhusi in which the commander of the forces of the rebel was badly defeated and killed by the imperialists. He was beheaded and sent to

¹ *Dutch chronicle*, p. 68.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

Prince Parwez¹. Due to crushing defeat at Jhusi the supporters of Prince Khurram were greatly dishearted.

Before suppressing the rebel finally Mahabat Khan succeeded in breaking his power by bringing a large number of his officers and the loyal chiefs to the imperial camp by threat as well as with assurances for lucrative awards. Many of the supports of Prince Khurram fled towards Bengal with their boats, artillery and other valuables out of the fear of the imperialists. The condition of the prince reached to such a level that he was faced with acute shortage of provision. The rebel Prince who in the beginning had about more than thirty thousand army at his disposal commanded only seven thousand of it on account of desertion and death².

The movement of Prince Khurram was finally blocked by Mahabat Khan when the Prince passing through Orissa and Bengal reached the province of Bihar. The imperialists under the command of Mahabat Khan and Prince Parwez and that of Prince Khurram came face to face at Tons. The rebel Prince and his officers due to limited army under them were not in favour to fight an open battle³. But contrary to the wishes of all Raja

¹ *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 400.

² *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 594, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 351, 521.

³ *Tuzuk*, p. 389; *Iqbalnama* Vol. 3, p. 594; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 405. *Zakhirat-ul-Khawarin*, Vol. 2, p. 122; According *Tuzuk*, the army under Khurram was 7,000, but

Bhim, son of Rana Amber Singh of Chittor who had been a staunch supporter of Prince Khurram was not in favour of retreat as he regarded it totally against the honour of the Rajputs¹. He finally decided to fight the imperialists a close battle despite lack of equipment and deplorable condition of the army. The result was that a hotly contested battle took place at Tons in which Raja Bhim and his Rajputs showed rare valour throughout the battle. He along with his followers sacrificed their lives for Prince Khurram. But the imperialists under the able command of Mahabat Khan uprooted the enemy completely on 26 October 1624. A large number of adversaries were killed and imprisoned. The entire booty fall into the hands of Mahabat Khan².

Finding his position insecure and very weak Prince Khurram left the field and fled to Rohtas and plundered it. After a stay of three days he moved to Bengal. On his way the Prince informed Darab Khan about his defeat and ordered him to meet him. But keeping in mind the bad days of the rebel and the consequence for his help he politely refused to come for

in other sources like *Iqbalnama*, and *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* (Vol. I, p. 351) the strength of the army of Khurram was 10,000.

¹ *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 594.

² *Tuzuk*, pp. 389-91, *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, pp. 594-95, *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 407-09; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawatin*, Vol. 2, pp. 122-24; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 2, pp. 20, 298; Vol. 3, pp. 389-90, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. I, pp. 352-53. *Dutch chronicle*, p.70.

his rescue. As a revenge for this treachery of Darab Khan at this critical juncture Abdullah Khan put his son who was in his custody to death¹.

Mahabat Khan was not only a worthy commander but a successful statesman too. He used both the military power and his wisdom against the enemies of the empire to destroy them. At this occasion also Mahabat Khan proved his statesmanship against Prince Khurram when the prince reached Bengal. Mahabat Khan had already won the leading *zamindars* of Bengal to his side. That is why Prince Khurram received no help from them. As a consequence he turned his attention towards Nizamul Mulk with a hope to receive protection and help from him. Prince Khurram was received well by Adil Khan and Malik Ambar also supported him in the conquest of Burhanpur. But it proved short lived².

The imperial army under Mahabat Khan and Pince Parwez reached shortly the Decant. Prince Khurram raise the siege of Burhanpur on account of the arrival of the imperialists. Mahabat Khan slaughtered all the prisoners of the enemy³. Prince Khurram fled to Rohangarh.⁴ By this

¹ *Tuzuk*, pp. 391, 93, *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, pp. 595-97, *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 409-10, 416; *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. I, pp. 189-90, *Zahirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, pp. 124, 278-79, *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 2, pp. 16; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. I, p. 353-54, *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin & Maasir-ul-Umara*, say that son and newphew both were killed by Abdullah Khan, but according to *Tuzuk*, *Iqbalnama* and *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* only son of Darab Khan was killed.

² *Dutch chronicle*, p. 72.

³ *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 369.

⁴ *Tuzuk*, pp.394-95, *Iqbalnama*, vol.3, p.598.

time Prince Khurram had lost all the hopes because his supporters had deserted him and he had lost his army and equipments in different battles¹. Mahabat Khan was watching his activities very carefully and seriously.

From the above discussion in regard to the revolt of Prince Khurram and its suppression by Mahabat Khan it clearly emerges that the credit for the destruction of the power of the rebel, who had created disturbances in different parts of the Mughal empire for many years, goes to a large extent to Mahabat Khan. The success of the imperialist under Mahabat Khan undoubtedly was the victory of the Mughal empire and the restoration of Jahangir's prestige. On a meritorious deed proving of vital consequences emperor Jahangir was bound to be pleased. In return, award of any kind to Mahabat Khan can not be counted as enough. That's why emperor Jahangir counted him exceptional mansab of 7000/7000 (*du-aspa-sih aspa*) and honoured him with the prestigious title of Khan-i-Khana Sipahsalar and also gave him special robe of honour. Not only this, Jahangir was ready to accept all types of desires of Mahabat Khan. As a result, according to the wishes of Mahabat Khan the

¹ *Tuzuk*, pp. 395-99, *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, pp. 598-600, *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 419-20, *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 2, p. 782. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. I, p. 357.

emperor appointed his son Khanzad Khan as the governor of Bengal¹. In accordance with the order of Jahangir Darab Khan presented before Mahabat Khan. He was put to death by Mahabat Khan for his dubious role and his head was sent to the Emperor².

In utter distress, Prince Khurram requested his father Jahangir for pardon which was granted after the Prince sent his two sons Dara Shikoh and Aurangzeb as hostage to the court and surrendered the forts of Rohtas and Asir to the imperialists. According to the assurances, the Emperor granted Prince Khurram the territory of Balaghat. Prince Khurram lastly went to Nasik in march 1626³. Now the tide of the revolt was over but the Mughals had lost Qandhar.

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 391, *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 410, Athar Ali does not mention that the *mansab* of Mahabat Khan was converted into *du aspa sih aspa* (*Apparatus of Mughal Empire*, p. 86) *Dutch chronicle*, p. 71.

² *Tuzuk*, pp. 393-94; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 597, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 1, p. 191, *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 2, p. 17, *Tazkirat-ul-Umara*, p. 65b, English Factory, (1624-29), p. 95.

³ *Tuzuk*, p. 397, *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 425-26, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 1, p. 192.

CHAPTER - IV

REBELLION OF MAHABAT KHAN

It is very surprising that Mahabat Khan who was one of the companions of Jahangir from the days of his princehood and since then had been his most loyal noble revolted in March 1626 after a long period of more than twenty years. The nature of the revolt of Mahabat Khan and its related developments indicate that it was an exceptional historical event at least in the time of emperor Jahangir. Because of this, the contemporary writers, officials or non-official have discussed about it in very detail. The revolt by Mahabat Khan has also made him a controversial noble of Jahangir.

Mutamid Khan the author of *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri* and *Dutch chronicle of Moghol India* both the contemporaries provide ample information about the revolt of Mahabat Khan. The account of Dutch chronicle is very weak in term of sequence of the narration of the event. Similarly it differs from Mutamid Khan in respect of the motive of Mahabat Khan for his revolt. But both agree about the consequence of the revolt. According to them, Mahabat Khan who had not received the attention of the emperor for last many years came into prominence shortly after the revolt. Majority of the contemporary accounts as well as

the modern scholars agree with the view that Nurjahan was responsible for the revolt of Mahabat Khan. She wanted to place on the throne her son-in-law, prince Shahyar so that she could rule the empire in future without any objection¹. The degree of her ambition increased many times due to the deteriorating health of Jahangir. Now she decided to eliminate all the expected rivals to the throne. The first and most-formidable challenge before her was Prince Khurram.

The attack of Persians on Qandhar in 1622 provided a golden opportunity for Nurjahan to create differences between the emperor Jahangir and Prince Khurram. Finally it led to the revolt of Prince Khurram². Mahabat Khan, the well tested commander of the Mughal empire, was appointed to suppress the revolt of Khurram. The appointment of Mahabat Khan on this occasion also indicates that Nurjahan wanted to create animosity between him and Prince Khurram so that both of them could not unite in future for the throne. The suppression of the revolt of prince Khurram by Mahabat Khan very much strengthened her position. Now Nurjahan became full confident of her

¹ According to Manucci, Asaf Khan, Nurjahan and few court members hate Mahabat Khan and wanted him to be executed by emperor, *Storio do Mogor*, Vol. 1 p. 164.

² *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 2 p. 192.

organizing capacities as she had played very crucial role in the appointment of Mughal officials against Prince Khurram¹.

On account of his long association with Prince Parvez in course of the suppression of the revolt of Prince Khurram, Mahabat Khan had established great influence on Prince Parvez². Nurjahan who was trying to eliminate all the possible rivals to the throne now turned her attention towards Prince Parvez and his staunch supporter Mahabat Khan. She was well aware that the support of Mahabat Khan to Prince Parvez, who after the revolt of Khurram had become a strong contender to the throne, in the time of a war of succession would prove very decisive. Besides, after the suppression of the revolt of Khurram, Mahabat Khan gained fame and prestige and firmly established his claim for being the most trustworthy and capable general of the Mughal empire. Such a strong position of Mahabat Khan was taken by Nurjahan as harmful to her future plan³.

It seems that Nurjahan was worried about the support of Mahabat Khan to her candidate Prince Shahryar because of the fact that Mahabat Khan had been critical to her position and power. This is borne out from *Intikhab-i-jahangir Shahi* which states that Mahabat was not in favour of

¹ *Tuzuk*, pp. 343-45; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, pp. 579-80; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. p. 327; *Waqiyat-i-Jahangiri*, E & D, Vol. 6, p. 383; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 346; *English factory* (1613-21) p. 333. (1622-23) p. 99.

² Beni Prasad, p. 337.

³ *Dutch Chronicle*, pp 96-97

entrusting so vast power to a woman like Nurjahan and wanted that the Emperor should maintain his dignity by yielding absolute power in his hands.¹

The relation between Mahabat Khan and Asaf Khan, brother of Nurjahan was also not very cordial. Roe states that Mahabat Khan as early as in September, 1616 pointed out to him that Asaf Khan was not a man to be trusted fully and remarked him as their enemy. Further he states that Mahabat Khan regarded Asaf Khan as responsible for creating an edge between him and the Emperor.² But Rao fails to provide any acceptable ground for the animosity between the two.

A careful study of the close relation of Mahabat Khan with emperor Jahangir and his success on different fronts specially in the Deccan where Asaf Khan had failed and later the role of Mahabat Khan in the suppression of the revolt of Khurram might have been the causes of hostility between the two³.

¹ *Intekhab-i-Jahangir Shahi*. B.M. or 1648. pp. 320-22.

² *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India* (1615-19) ed., William Foster, London. 1926. p. 262.

³ Pant Chandra, pp.67-70.

Thus, for their vested interest, both Nurjahan as well as Asaf Khan wanted to ruin Mahabat Khan by poisoning emperor Jahangir by presenting false charges against him¹.

In this context, it is significant to note that on the eve of the revolt of Mahabat Khan in 1627 we notice three main contenders to the throne. Prince Shahryar, the first, supported by Nurjahan; Prince Khurram, the second, having the sympathy of his father-in-law, Asaf Khan and lastly Prince Parvez who was expected to receive the support of Mahabat Khan.

The members of the royal family specially Nurjahan and Asaf Khan succeeded in creating a doubt in the mind of Jahangir about the loyalty of Mahabat Khan. The result was that the Emperor lost complete faith in his favourite noble, Mahabat Khan². The above mentioned conspirators succeeded in convincing the Emperor to take the charge of guardianship of Prince Parvez from Mahabat Khan.

After the crushing defeat of Prince Khurram in Bengal Mahabat Khan left the place and moved towards the Deccan against the rebel prince³. But the enemy of Mahabat Khan were not satisfied with this. As a result, when the imperial army led by Prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan

¹ Dutch Chronicle, p.96.

² *Nur Jahan and her family*, Chandra Pant, Allahabad, 1978, pp. 67-70

³ Dutch Chronicle, p. 96.

reached Saranpur from Bengal in pursuits of rebel Prince Khurram, Mahabat Khan received *farman* of Jahangir to the effect of his dismissal from the prestigious charge of guardianship of the Prince Parvez. Khan-i-jahan Lodi was appointed as the guardian of Prince Parvez in his place, Now Mahabat Khan was ordered to return back to Bengal.¹ Prince Parvez in response to the decision of the emperor expressed his unwillingness, but it was not taken into consideration². Immediately to the second *farman* third one was issued according to which in case of the failure of Mahabat Khan to go to Bengal he was expected to present himself before the Emperor alone. He was also ordered to leave all the troopers at his disposal and the booty and elephants he had captured from the rebel Prince³. Mahabat Khan wanted to keep some of the *mansabdars* and his trustworthy officers with him but Fadil Khan, the *Diwan* displayed the order of Jahangir and informed his officials that no one should give him company and go with him because Mahabat Khan had displeased the Emperor⁴.

¹ Dutch Chronicle, p. 74.

² Dutch Chronicle, p. 74.

³ Tuzuk, p. 398; Iqbalnama, Vol. 3. p. 599; Appratus of Empire (1574-1652), p. 88 Maasir-i-Jahangiri, p. 427; Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin, Vol. 2, p. 131; Fatehnama-i-Nurjahan Begum, p. 6; Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol. 3, p. 391; Dutch Chronicle, p. 75.

⁴ Tuzuk, p. 398; Iqbalnama, Vol. 3, p. 512; Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol. 3 p. 391, Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin, Vol. 2, p. 131; Maasir-i-Jahangiri, p. 427; Dutch Chronicle, p. 75.

Mahabat Khan took the treatment of the Emperor as very alarming and because of this he explained the ill-treatment to the Prince meted out to him by the court. Mahabat Khan took leave from Prince Sultan Parvez at Burhanpur, but he came out with him up to Sarai Bihar¹.

From the above discussed attitude of Jahangir and others it became evident that all kinds of efforts were being made to ruin Mahabat Khan and arrest him. It means that Mahabat Khan was likely to be punished he was not responsible for. He was fully aware of the fact that all these were outcome of the misguiding to the emperor by Nurjahan, Khan-i-Khanan and other Chaghtai enemies of court and to some extent Asaf Khan². He finally decided not to surrender himself but to explain the things in order before Jahangir. To execute his plan he started strengthening his position. Keeping in mind the adverse condition he was faced with he decided to increase his force when he reached at Ranthambore that was his *Jagir*. He proved very fortunate in regard to the support he received at this critical juncture. In this series mention may be made of the Rana Kohi one of the chieftains of Chittor, who sent 1000 well equipped cavalry. Mahabat Khan also managed to recruit 6,000 cavalry from Ranthambore. It is

¹ *Tuzuk*, pp. 398-99; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3. p. 599; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, pp. 721, 741, *Fatehnama-i-Nurjahan Begum*, p. 6; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, p. 131; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 427 30-31; *Dutch Chronicle* p. 75.

² *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, p.131, *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p.392, *Dutch Chronicle*; p.75.

striking to note that the majority of his army consisted of Rajputs who amounted to 4000. The others included were Sayids, Shaikh and Shaikhzadas, Afghans and Mughals¹. When these arrangements were in progress and Mahabat Khan was preparing himself to visit the Emperor in person at the same time the Mughal officer named Arab Dast Ghaib with 1000 cavalry reached Ranthambore with the order of Jahangir related to Mahabat Khan. Mahabat Khan informed him that there was no need to explain the context of the royal order because he was well aware of that. He further conveyed Arab Dast Ghaib that he would be shortly proceeding to the Emperor².

When Mahabat Khan along with his troopers reached Lahore to see the emperor, Jahangir had left the place for Kabul³. The news of the approach of Mahabat Khan with a large army fully devoted to his will surprised Nurjahan and Asaf Khan both accompanying emperor Jahangir. Nurjahan sent a letter to Mahabat Khan not to proceed further and in case of disobedience he would be responsible for dire consequences. Both Nurjahan and Asaf Khan informed the Emperor about the arrogance of

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 402; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 601; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 436; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, pp. 132-33; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 392. According to *Fatehnama-i-Nurjahan Begam*, the army of Mahabat Khan was more than 10,000; p.8 except it other all sources give the number of army upto 5000 to 8000.

² *Tuzuk*; p.399, 99 *balnama* vol. 3, p.600; *Maasir-i-Jahanain*, p.430. *Masir-ul-Umara*, vol.3, p.392 *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin* vol.12. pp.131,400; *Fatchnama-i-Nurjahan Begum* pp.6-10.

³ *Tuzuk*, p.400; *Iqbalnama*, vol.3., p.600; *Dutch Chronicle*, p.75.

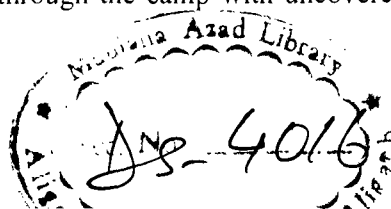
Mahabat Khan. Jahangir by this time (March 1626) had reached the Jhelum river where he decided to encamp on its bank. At this time Mahabat Khan was informed that he would not be allowed to see the Emperor unless he had submitted the report of his activities in Bengal and paid the amount he had accumulated from certain *Jagirs* and other sources during his stay in the above province¹.

In the series of charges, Mahabat Khan was also blamed for marrying his daughter with Khawaja Barkhurdar Nakshbandi without the prior permission of the Emperor. Reacting to all the proceeding developments related to Mahabat Khan, the Emperor first ordered to imprison the son-in-law of Mahabat Khan and to seize all belongings he had received as dowry². Fidai Khan was entrusted the task to execute the order and submit it in the royal treasury.

Adding to this, Khawaja Barkhurdar was openly humiliated and tortured before the imperial army. Similar kind of treatment was also

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 402; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 601; *Masir-i-Jahangiri*, pp.436-37. *Zakhirat ul-Khawanin* vol.2 p.133, *Masir-ul-Umara*, vol.3, p.392, *Muntakhab ul-Lubab*, vol.1, p.360, *Fatehnama-i-Nurjahan Begum.*, pp.10-11.

² *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 75. writes that Barkhurdar was sent by Mahabat Khan with a letter and elephants to the king for begging to why he mistrusted his old slave but his son-in-law was soundly beaten with shoes. Everyone brought serious charges against him and instigated by Asaf Khan, the king ordered him to be soundly beaten. De Laet; pp 25-26. "He was paraded through the camp with uncovered head, mounted on an elephant for all to see".



meted out to the *wakil* of Mahabat Khan¹. Shortly after this incident Mahabat Khan's daughter was summoned to the court. Mahabat Khan thereupon appealed to his Rajput followers saying that the honour of his daughter was in danger. Rajput replied and promised to him "she is our daughter as long we are allie, we do not send her." ²

The royal camp on its way to Kabul continued to proceed further. Mahabat Khan was also following it continuously and was being informed about whatever decisions were taken by the Emperor in regard to him³.

The role so far played by Nurjahan and Asaf Khan had brought to surface the fact that they had finally bent upon to ruin Mahabat Khan. The situation was more aggrieved following the partial behaviour of Jahangir to his son-in-law and the *Diwan*. Mahabat Khan reacted sharply on the wisdom of the Emperor. He now fully realized that the Emperor was adopting harsh attitude towards him because he was misguided equally by Nurjahan and Asaf Khan. And that there was no honest person with the Emperor who would explain the things in proper way⁴.

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 402; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 601; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 436-37, *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, p. 133; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 392, *Muntakb-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1 p. 360, *Fatehnama-i-Nurjahan Begum* pp. 10-11.

² *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, vol.1, p.134.

³ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin* vol.1, p.134-35.

⁴ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 1 pp. 133-35. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3; p. 393.

In March 1626, the arrival of Mahabat Khan at Behad reached to Jahangir who was in the imperial camp on the bank of river Jhelum. The Emperor sent Gajhat Khan to acquire all the elephants and other valuables from Mahabat Khan which the latter had captured as booty during the expedition against Prince Khurram. Mahabat Khan responded well at this time and returned most of the elephants to the Mughal officer. Gajhat Khan threatened Mahabat Khan far dire consequences for his actions¹. The matter was taken by Mahabat Khan seriously and he felt a strong danger to his life and future. Because of this he paid his soldiers all the arrears and distributed among them whatever he had at this disposal at this time. His supporters also took an oath to sacrifice their lives for the sake of Mahabat Khan².

Despite all defensive measures of Mahabat Khan to keep the imperial army on the opposite side of the royal camp Asaf Jah with imperial troops, his family members and royal treasury succeeded in crossing the river to protect the Emperor³. Mahabat Khan now realized it as a question of honour. At this moment no important noble of the court

¹ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 1 pp. 133-35. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3; p. 393; Dutch Chronical p. 76.

² *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 1, pp. 134-35. *Masir-ul-Umara*, vol.3, p.393.

³ *Tuzuk*, p. 402, *Maasir-i-Jahagiri*, p. 437, *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p.601. *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 1, pp. 135-36; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 14, Vol.2 , p. 393-94. *Muntakhat-ul-Lubab*, Vol.1, p.361.

was present at the royal camp and the Emperor was alone¹. Mahabat Khan thought that it was the golden and perhaps the last opportunity to explain the matters before emperor Jahangir. In his attempt to approach the Emperor, Mahabat Khan mistakably reached the pavilion of Prince Shahryar. When Gokal-das-Murtuza Khami, the *Katib* of Prince raised objection on the unwanted entry of Mahabat Khan, he was killed by the Rajputs on the order of Mahabat Khan. Prince Shahryar was taken as hostage. Very shortly Prince Dawar Baksh was also made captive by Mahabat Khan². Mahabat Khan then entered the private chamber of the Emperor. The door keepers and the lady servants of the Emperor informed him about this development. At this time emperor Jahangir was sleeping and when he came to know of the above happenings he awoke up³. Mahabat Khan first performed the ceremonial salution and zamin-bos and then humbly requested the Emperor that he had no option but to follow this way to justify himself before the emperor. He stated the Emperor that Asaf Jah had labelled a number of baseless charges against him which are without any ground and that he wanted to put him to death.

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 403; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 602; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, p. 137; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 438; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 362.

² *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, pp. 136-37.

³ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, vol.2, pp.136-37.; *Iqbalnama*, Vol., 3, pp. 601-2, does not mention this event. Mutamid Khan tried to stop Mahabat Khan in the door of bathroom. He says that Jahangir was not sleeping, he was in palki when Mahabat Khan opened the curtain of the palki in which Jahangir was seated.); *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 76.

Besides he had closed all the doors for him to see you in person. As a consequence, in utter desperation he was forced to throw himself in unexpected manner under his protection. Mahabat Khan also said that if he was supposed by the emperor to be fit for death or other punishment he was ready to be executed then and there¹. At this juncture the Rajput followers of Mahabat Khan fully armed and well equipped surrounded the royal pavilion. Most of the royal troops and servants of Jahangir left the royal camp out of fear of the Rajputs supporters of Mahabat Khan except few noted and devoted servants like Asab Dast Ghaib, Mir Mansur Badakhshi Khwaja Jawar Khan etc. Muqarrab Khan Shaikh Hassu who was also present there at this time passed serious comments on the arrogant activities of Mahabat Khan. Mahabat Khan lost his temper and injured him badly in the presence of Jahangir². This kind of behaviour enraged the Emperor to such an extent that he decided to cut Mahabat Khan into pieces with his sword. But keeping in mind the grave situation he put his passion under control on the advice of Mansur Badakhshi. By this time the Rajputs followers of Mahabat Khan had brought the private

¹ *Tuzuk*, pp. 402-03; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, pp. 601-02; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 437-38; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, pp. 136-37; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3 pp. 393-94; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, pp. 362-63; *Fatehnama-i-Nurjahan Begum*, pp. 12-13; *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 76.

² *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 76, gives the name Gajhat Khan and Herom or Hashim were cut into pieces or put to death in presence of king.

apartment, the Emperor and all the attendants practically under their control¹.

After taking the Emperor under his custody Mahabat Khan decided to go for hunting with him. By doing so he wanted to give an impression that the boldness and audacity of Mahabat Khan was on the pretext of Emperor Jahangir².

It appears that Mahabat Khan wanted to bring all the family members of emperor Jahangir under his control. That's why he ordered his followers to find out Nurjahan and prince Shahryar. But both of them were not available there³ because they had gone to Asaf Khan's camp. The author of *Zakhirat-ul-khawanin* mentions that the main purpose of Nurjahan's visit to her brother at this critical juncture must have been to chalk out the plan for the release of the Emperor. This assumption is fully substantiated from the subsequent developments. An urgent meeting was called in which all the leading nobles available participated. Nurjahan blamed her brother Asaf Khan and the nobles for their negligence which

¹ *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 438-39; *Iqbalnama E & D.*, Vol. 6. p. 422; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 394; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, pp. 137-38; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 363; *English Factory* (1624-29), p. 151; *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 76.

² *Tuzuk*, p. 403; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 602; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 439; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 394; *Zakhirat-ul-hawanin*, Vol. 2, pp. 138; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 364-65; *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 76.

³ *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 603; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, pp. 139-40; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 440; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, pp. 140-41; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 395.

provided such an opportunity to Mahabat Khan to siege the emperor. Finally under the leadership of Nurjahan the imperial army and officials decided to cross the river and fight a battle against Mahabat Khan¹. When Jahangir came to know of this he sent Muqarrab Khan, Sadiq Khan, Mir-Mansur and others one after another to Nurjahan with the advice that such action would not lead to any fruitful result². But Nurjahan and her supporters took the suggestion of the Emperor as a product of Mahabat Khan's mind and because of this it was not taken by them into account³. The result was that on 18th March 1626, Nurjahan, Asaf Khan, Khawaja Abul Hasan and other leading nobles decided to cross the river and fight against Mahabat Khan. Finally with great difficulties they succeeded in reaching the other side of the river⁴.

The imperial army was commanded by Nurjahan. A fierce battle started in which she showed rare valour and proved her commanding capacity. A quite good number of Mughal officers such as Jawahir Khan

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 404; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 603; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, pp. 140-41; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 440-41; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 395; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, pp. 364, 66, 67; *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 76.

² *Tuzuk*, p. 404. *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 603; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* p. 441.

³ *Tuzuk*, pp. 404-05; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 603; *Fatehnama-i-Nurjahan Begum*, p. 17; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 441; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, pp. 140-41; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 367.

⁴ *Tuzuk*, p. 405; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, pp. 603-604; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 3, pp. 123-24; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, pp. 367-70; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. 1, pp. 442-43; *Fatehnama-i-Nurjahan Begum*, pp. 18-21; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 1, pp. 737, Vol. 3, pp. 14-15, 395.

Khawaza Sara, *nazir* of the palace, Nadim the Khawaza sara of Nur Jahan and similarly others sacrificed their lives while defending her. The elephants on which Nurjahan was riding also received many wounds¹. Abdul Hasan who was fighting alongwith Mutamid Khan deserted him when the army of Mahabat Khan posed a strong resistance to him. Likewise when Fidai Khan one of the strong supporters of Jahangir attempted to release the Emperor he was forced by the army of Mahabat Khan to flee from the royal camp and take Shelter at Rohtas, situated on the other side of the river². Similarly, Asaf Khan also along with his army and family members fled to the fort of Attok. From there he tried to make fresh arrangements. For this reason he called the other Mughal officials to chalk out the plan³.

It is striking to note that despite inferior in numerical strength the army of Mahabat Khan emerged victorious. According to *Dutch Chronicle of India* about 2000 soldiers of the imperial army lost there life

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 405; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 604; *Fatehnama-i-Nurjahan Begum*, pp. 18-21; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 3, pp. 123-24; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 442-43; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, pp. 369-70; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 1, p. 737, Vol. 3, p. 395.

² *Tuzuk*, pp. 405-06; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, pp. 604-05; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, pp.141-42; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p.15; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 443-44; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, pp. 370-71; *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 77.

³ *Tuzuk* p.406, *Iqbalnama* p. 604, *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, p. 142. *Maasir-i-Jahagiri* p.443. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 370.

in course of the battle and an equal number of them with their elephants and horses died when trying to cross the river¹.

The army of Mahabat Khan seized a large booty from the imperial army as a result of the flight of most of the Mughal nobles from the battle field. Nurjahan also finding her position weak surrendered before Mahabat Khan. By this time not only Jahangir and Nurjahan but other members of their family like prince Shahryar, Bulaqi, son of Khusrau and son of Daniyal had fallen under the custody of Mahabat Khan².

Having consolidated his position Mahabat Khan now turned his attention to suppress his next enemy Asaf Khan who had fled from the battle field and taken shelter at Attock. He sent in advance his *Ahadi* guards, Rajputs and many local *Zamindars* under the leadership of his son Bihroz with the instruction to capture Asaf Khan and produce him alive before him. Realizing his position weak and no scope to escape Asaf Khan submitted himself before the army of Mahabat Khan on the condition that his life would be spared³. But many of Asaf Khan's

¹ *Tuzuk*, pp. 406-07; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 605; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 1, p. 153, Vol. 3, p. 395; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 444-76; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, pp. 371-72; *English factory* (1624-29), p. 152; *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 77;

² *Tuzuk*, p. 406; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 605; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 3, pp. 123-24; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 445; *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 77.

³ *Tuzuk*, pp. 406-07; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 605; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 1, p. 153, Vol. 3, p. 395; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 444-76; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, pp. 371-72; *English factory* (1624-29), p. 152; *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 77;

followers were put to death. Abu Talib, son of Asaf Khan and son of Mir Mirza tied with chain were carried on an elephant. Other senior Mughal officials such as Maulana Mohammed and Ibrahim Khan were tortured in prison to such an extent that first one died in custody¹.

After taking royalty and imperial army under his full command, Mahabat Khan now decided to resume the journey to Kabal. On the way when they crossed the river Indus at Attock, Mahabat Khan with the formal permission of the Emperor repaired the fort of Attock and appointed his own men as incharge of the place. Mahabat Khan took the revenge of his amnesty with Asaf Khan by killing a large number of his supports like Abul Khaliq, Mohammed Tagi, the former *Bakhshi* of Prince Khurram and Mulla Muhammad Tathi, the spiritual preceptor of Asaf Khan².

By the time the imperial camp reached Kabul in May 1626 the power and strength of Mahabat Khan had reached to its zenith³. It becomes clear from the removal of Muzaffar Khan by Mahabat Khan from the governorship of Agra who had earlier been appointed by emperor

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 406; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 605; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 3, pp. 123-24; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 445; Dutch Chronicle, p. 77.

² *Tuzuk*, p. 407; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 605; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 3, pp. 123-24; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 446; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 1, p. 667, Vol. 3, pp. 369-371.

³ *Tuzuk*, p. 408; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 605; *Fatehnama-i-Nurjahan Begum*, pp. 22-23; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 374.

Jahangir and reinstating Qasim Khan to this post on the request of his wife, Manija Begum.

Following this appointment Qasim Khan on the order of Mahabat Khan brought to him two sons of prince Khurram who were at Agra under the protection of Muzaffar Khan. It is also strange enough to state that the newly appointed governor sent large presents and elephants not to the emperor but to Mahabat Khan¹ Mahabat Khan further strengthened his position by appointing his partisan Sadiq Khan as the governor of Punjab. Similarly, Khan Khanan, the bitter enemy of Mahabat Khan was besieged at Kannauj². A part from these, Beni Prasad is of the view that Mahabat Khan would have received silent support and sympathy from those nobles who had been against the direct interference of Nurjahan in the business of the Mughal empire and those who had suffered at her hands³.

Many important developments inside the empire forced the Emperor to decide to return back from Kabul ultimately. The movement of prince Khurram from the Deccan to capture Agra was of serious nature. But the strong opposition posed by the Mughal commanders at different places compelled the prince to retreat to Bhakkar. The other

¹ *Dutch Chronicle*, pp. 77-78.

² *Dutch Chronicle*, p.78.

³ Beni Prasad, p. 352.

important news the emperor received at Kabul was about the death of the most feared enemy of the Mughals, Malik Amber. The most dis-hearting news was that of serious illness of prince Parvez at Burhanpur¹.

On its surface it appears that by the mid of year 1626 Mahabat Khan by different methods had widely succeeded in establishing his control and influence and was managing the affairs of the empire without any strong opposition at this time. Realising this fact emperor Jahangir and obviously Nurjahan too seem to have reconciled to the prevailing situation and any direct confrontation with Mahabat Khan could bring adverse results². That is why they were watching the conditions carefully and waiting anxiously for an opportunity to get rid of the control of Mahabat Khan.

The author of *Zakhirat-ul-khanwanin* mentions that the long awaited movement came to Nurjahan when hostility between the Rajputs of Mahabat Khan and the imperial *Ahadis* came to surface. From the detail in this regard given in the above work it seems that the Rajputs of Mahabat Khan due to their success and special favour of Mahabat Khan had started undermining the position and prestige of the other Mughal nobles and specially the *Ahadis*. The author, Farid Bhakkari also states

¹ Dutch Chronicle, p. 78.

² *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 373.

that the *ryots* of Kabul and the Mughal officers of low dignity were being exploited by Mahabat Khan's followers. The bitterness took its ugly face when a number of *Ahadis* were killed by the Rajputs at a time when Jahangiri was on a hunting in Kabul. The Mughal nobles hostile to Mahabat Khan took the rift as a golden opportunity to be exploited to their favour and to minimize the power and dominancy of Mahabat Khan. This in turn led to a hot fierce battle in which about eight hundred of Rajputs including many of their leaders were killed by the royal *Ahadis*¹.

The above behaviour of imperial nobles and *Ahadi's* enraged Mahabat Khan greatly who complained to the Emperor and demanded justice. Mahabat Khan blamed Badiuz-Zaman, son- in-law of Khawaza Abul Hasan and his brother Khawaja Qasim for instigating the *Ahadis* against his loyal Rajputs. Since the emperor had not consolidated his position fully by this time he set up an inquiry under Jashna Khan to look into the causes of the disturbances. He submitted the report to the emperor in which Kotwal Khan Jamal Khan, Mutamad Khan and few others were found responsible for disturbances. As a result they were

¹ Tuzuk, pp. 408-09; Iqbalanama, Vol. 3, pp. 606-07; Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin, Sec. 1, pp. 17-45; Maasir-i-Jahangiri, pp. 448-49; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Vol. 1, pp. 374-75; Dutch Chronicle, p. 49; Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol. 3, p. 396.

punished accordingly¹. But from this time Mahabat Khan became apprehensive and lost heart. Now he realized that his life was in danger. Farid Bhakkari's remarks that Nurjahan and the daughter of Asaf Khan were waiting for an opportunity to kill Mahabat Khan clearly substantiate the apprehension felt by Mahabat Khan. Coincided to these developments the death of Prince Parvez, the favourite of Mahabat Khan must have proved a set back to the future prospects of Mahabat Khan. On the other hand for Nurjahan and Asaf Khan the death of prince Parvez would have proved a factor for relief².

Taking advantages of the unfavourable situation being faced by Mahabat Khan at this time Nurjahan summoned all her *Amirs* and advised them to undermine his position. She tried to win them to her side against Mahabat Khan by promising for high position and distributing large amount of valuable like money and gold. She ordered them to strengthen their power by fresh recruitments of soldiers. In response to her new arrangements Hoshiyar Khan who was then *faujdar of* Bijwara mustered 2000 horseman and 5000 foot soldiers. According to the instruction of Nurjahan he was to join her at Attock. Besides, She also ordered her supporters at Lahore to make fresh recruitments for her assistance and

¹ Tuzuk, p. 409; Iqbalnama, Vol. 3, p. 607; Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin, Sec. 1, p. 17; Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol. 3, p. 396; Maasir-ul-Jahangiri, pp. 449-50; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Vol. 1, p. 376.

² Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin, Sec. 1, p. 17.

pay their troopers out of the imperial exchanger. As a result, the strength of Nurjahan increased considerably as her supporters joined her at different quarters. Meantime on 15 August 1626 the imperial camp on its way back to the capital from Kabul reached Lahore¹.

Finding his position more secure comparatively emperor Jahangir sent his personal attendant Buland Khan Khawas to Mahabat Khan with the message that now in his place Nurjahan would present the imperial soldiers for the august insection of the Emperor. But he failed to convince Mahabat Khan. He was replaced by Khawaza Abul Hasan who by his strong arguments brought Mahabat Khan to accept the proposal and not to interfere in the proceedings of the emperor. Shortly afterwards, the Emperor sent Afzal Khan to Mahabat Khan with four different kinds of orders. Firstly, Mahabat Khan was ordered to proceed against Prince Khurram who had taken shelter at Thatta and to settle the affair. Secondly, he was told to release Asaf Khan from his custody. Thirdly, the two sons of Prince Daniyal were to be sent to the royal presence. Fourthly, Mahabat Khan was ordered to produce Lashkari son of Mukhlis

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 411; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, pp. 608-09; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. 1, p. 18; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, pp. 396-97; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 456-58; *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 79; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, pp. 379-80.

Khan¹. Mahabat Khan accepted all the demands of the Emperor except the release of Asaf Khan. In this regard, he expressed his view that he would set Asaf Khan free after he had crossed the river Chenab because Nurjahan could sent an army against him for his destruction if he released Asaf Khan at this movement².

The Dutch chronicle of India gives a long description of the conversation which took place between Asaf Khan and Mahabat Khan shortly before Asaf Khan was released. It was only after the Emperor assured the safety of Mahabat Khan that he set Asaf Khan at liberty³. When in September 1626 the imperial camp reached Lahore a large number of army joined the Emperor. Prince Shahryar who had been sent to Lahore in advance had already enrolled a large number of troopers. He also succeeded in releasing Bulaqi and two sons of Prince Daniyal from the custody of the Rajputs of Mahabat Khan. Prince Shahryar also brought the fort of Lahore under his control⁴.

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 411; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, pp. 608-09; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. 1, p. 18; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, pp. 396-97; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 456-58; *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 79; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, pp. 379-80.

² *Tuzuk*, p. 411; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, pp. 608-09; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. 1, p. 18; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, pp. 396-97; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 456-58; *Dutch Chronicle*, pp. 79-80.

³ For more details, see *Dutch Chronicle of India*, p. 81.

⁴ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. 1, p. 18; *Tuzuk*, pp. 410-11; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, pp. 607, 609; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 397; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 457-58; *Fatehnama-i-Nurjahan Begum*, pp. 42-43; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, pp. 380-81; *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 81.

When Asaf Khan reached the Emperor and her sister, Nurjahan he thanked Mahabat Khan for sparing his life. This kind of soft corner of Asaf Khan for a person like Mahabat Khan who for many months had created such a trouble for his sister and other members very much surprised Nurjahan¹.

After crossing the river Chenab Mahabat Khan released the son of Asaf Khan and Mir Mirza, the brother and son-in-law of Khawaza Abul Hasan and sent them to the Emperor. Nurjahan came to know that the imperial treasure which had been sent from the capital Agra to Thanesar on account of the earlier rebellious activities of Prince Khurram was at this time under the possession of the Rajputs of Mahabat Khan².

After getting rid of Mahabat Khan's control Nurjahan took many steps to destroy the position and influence of Mahabat Khan. In this series, the first mention may be made of the appointment of his loyal officials to seize the treasure from the custody of the Rajputs of Mahabat Khan at Thaneswar³. She without wasting time departed her trustworthy officials like Ahmad Khan, Shersah, Nuruddin Quli Khan and others

¹ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. 1, p. 18; *Tuzuk*, pp. 410-12; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, pp. 607, 609; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 1, p. 153, Vol. 2, p. 690, Vol. 3, p. 397; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp.457-58; *Fatehnama-i-Nurjahan Begum*, pp. 42-44; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, pp. 380-81; *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 82.

² *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. 1, p. 19; *Dutch Chronicle*, pp. 81-82.

³ *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 82.

with a large army to seize the treasure amounting to 20 lakhs rupees from Mahabat Khan's followers. She was fully aware that this large amount of money could play an important role in strengthening Mahabat Khan's position¹. When the imperial army reached the appointed place, Thanesar, it found that the treasure had already been shifted from Thanesar to a place called Sahabad and kept in a strong fort defended by the Rajputs. When Mahabat Khan became aware of the actions of Nurjahan he instead of marching to Thatta against Prince Shajahan decided to bring the treasure first in his possession. But before he reached Sahabad the imperial army had already succeeded in capturing the treasure by badly defeating the Rajputs of Mahabat Khan. A quite good number of Mahabat Khan's followers were put to death and a large number were imprisoned. The imperial army were rewarded by Nurjahan for their victory. This was the first serious set back received by Mahabat Khan².

As mentioned above Mahabat khan had been deputed against Prince Khurram but it appears that Nurjahan was not in a position to trust Mahabat Khan any more on account of his earlier activities. She became suspicious of Mahabat Khan's joining hands with Prince Khurram,

¹ Tuzuk, p. 412; Iqbalnama, Vol. 3, pp. 609-10; Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin, Sec. 1, p. 45; Maasir-i-Jahangiri, p. 460; Fatehnama-i-Nurjahan Begum, p. 47; Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol. 2, pp. 736-37; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Vol. 1, p. 362; Dutch Chronicle, p. 82.

² Tuzuk, p. 412; Iqbalnama, Vol. 3, pp. 609-10; Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin, Sec. 1, p. 45; Maasir-i-Jahangiri, p. 460; Fatehnama-i-Nurjahan Begum, p. 47; Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol. 2, pp. 736-37; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Vol. 1, p. 382; Dutch Chronicle, pp. 82-83.

another rebel of the empire or Prince Parvez. In case both of them who had greatly suffered at the hands of Nurjahan had joined hands it would prove vital for the days to come and specially if the question of succession to the throne arose in near future. The fast declining of the health of emperor Jahangir must have created this kind of atmosphere at the court. In the prevailing situation Nurjahan decided to suppress Mahabat Khan and his supporters at the earliest. That's why she appointed Khan-i-khanan against Mahabat Khan with specific instruction to destroy him. It is surprising to mention that Khan-i-Khana expressed his inability to lead the army on account of his old age but his request was not taken seriously. At this time the *jagir* of Ranthambor held by Mahabat Khan was now granted to Khan-i-khana¹.

The imperial army which had been sent to capture the treasure from Mahabat Khan's followers succeeded not only in bringing it under their control but they killed a large number of the Rajputs and imprisoned the rest of them. Subsequently, the treasure was presented to the king at Lahore by the Mughal officers. The *ahadis* were rewarded by Nurjahan for their meritorious deeds and for playing an important role in breaking the prestige of Mahabat Khan².

¹ *Dutch Chronicle*, pp. 82-83.

² *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 85.

Following the success of the imperial army against the followers of Mahabat Khan it was deputed in pursuit of Mahabat Khan who had reached to Ajmer on his way to the Deccan. Together with these operations Nurjahan turned her attention to suppress the close associates of Mahabat Khan. In this series, Mirza Arabdost Yar was arrested who committed suicide out of the fear of disgrace. The houses of Sadiq Khan and Ram Raj, both adherents of Mahabat Khan, were plundered and their properties were confiscated on the orders of Nurjahan. *Dutch chronicle of India* states that most of the followers of Mahabat Khan were reduced to poverty¹.

The distress and the weak position of Mahabat Khan is fully supported by the revolt of his younger son Mirza Bahrawar who the *faujdar* of Narnol. When Mahabat Khan sent him against Raja Sher Singh (Chhatra) he in place of attacking him revolted and went to Ranthambore. Mahabat Khan was not in a position to settle the affair because the imperial army sent against him was persuading him. It is ironic to mention that the Rajputs, Mughals and Syeds who had been sent with Mirza Bahrawar plundered his treasure and deserted him when he revolted. This, of course, must have proved a great set back to the prestige of Mahabat Khan. The rebel was arrested by Rai Ratan Singh of

¹ Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin Sec. 1; p.45, Dutch Chronicle, p. 85.

Bundi and was imprisoned at Agra. Later on he was pardoned by the Emperor and joined the imperial service¹.

It was during this unfavourable circumstances of Mahabat Khan that his favourite Prince Parwez with whom he had established very good relation died. The death of Prince Parwez very much dishearted him². As mentioned in the preceding details that the followers of Mahabat Khan were deserting him constantly finding his position insecure and others were being persecuted by Nurjahan. In this situation Mahabat Khan tried to strengthen his position from other quarters. For this reason he sought the help of Rawal Kalyan of Jaisalmer. Mahabat Khan was granted shelter by the Rajput chief. He established matrimonial alliance with this local chief by marrying his son with the daughter of the Rajput *sardar*. A considerable number of Rajputs joined his service also. Mahabat Khan spent the rainy season in the territory of the Rajput Raja³.

From Jaisalmer Mahabat Khan proceeded to the territory of Rana of Chittor. As we know that Mahabat Khan had very good relation with the Rajputs the Rana of Chittor gave him shelter at his court. But as soon

¹ *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 86.

² *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 88.

³ *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, pp. 610, 12-13; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, pp. 141-42; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 461, 476; *Fatehnama-i-Nurjahan Begum*, pp. 46-47; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 1, pp. 471, 709, Vol. 2, pp. 23-24, 213, Vol. 3, pp. 397-98, 817; *English Factory (1624-29)*, p. 171. *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 85.

as Nurjahan came to know of this she deputed Gopinath Yogi from Lahore to Chittor threatening the Rana for adverse consequences for showing sympathy with Mahabat Khan. The Rana was asked either to arrest Mahabat Khan or to drive him out from his territory. The Rana appears to be in great dilemma. He did not want to disturb his relation with the Emperor and on the other side he was not in favour of taking any strong action against Mahabat Khan. Because of this he requested Mahabat Khan to pass his territory and go to the hilly tracts where he would be more safe. He left Mewar and reached the Bhil Rajput king, Raja Ranawat Singh who welcomed him and permitted to stay as long as Mahabat Khan pleased¹. Dutch Chronicle of India mentions that Mahabat Khan decided to leave the court of Raja Ranawat because of two reasons. Firstly because he felt himself there as a stranger and secondly due to the threat of the imperial army which could attack any time from any quarters. But the main problem before him was as where to go². As discussed above, Mahabat Khan had been deputed against Prince Shahjahan but Nurjahan at the same time had sent a large army to follow him and destroy his power at the earliest. Mahabat Khan appears to be fully aware of this kind of intension of Nurjahan. As a result, Mahabat Khan finally decided to join hands with Prince Shahjahan. To execute his

¹ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol 1; pp. 141-42; *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 87.

² *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 87.

plan Mahabat Khan sent many letters in advance to the above said Prince for friendly relation and for uniting against Nurjahan who was the common enemy of both¹.

Prince Khurram had left the province of Thatta for the Deccan. At the same time, Mahabat Khan who had also left the region of Raja Ranawat reached the Deccan frontiers safely. When the Prince came to know of the approach of Mahabat Khan he sent some of his loyal associates with terms of eternal friendship. After three days, on 22nd October 1627 Mahabat Khan met to the Prince in Junair. Both of them discussed at length the course of action to be taken to quell the prevailing situation. Mahabat Khan advised the Prince to make full preparation and strengthen the position at the maximum level².

When the above developments were going on the sad demise of emperor Jahangir took place on his way from Kashmir, between Bhimber and Lahore on 28 October 1627³. Asaf Khan the father-in-law of Prince

¹ *Tuzuk*, pp. 412-13, 16-18; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, pp. 160, 12-13; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, pp. 141-42; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, pp. 141-42; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 461, 476; *Fatehnama-i-Nurjahan Begum*, pp. 46-47; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 1, pp. 471, 709, Vol. 2, pp. 23-24, 213, Vol. 3, pp. 397-98; *English Factory (1624-29)*, p. 171; *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 89.

² *Tuzuk*, p. 418; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 613; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, p. 142; *Badshahnama* of Mohammad Amin Kazvini, Manuscript No. 68, CAS, AMU, Aligarh; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 475; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 398; *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 89.

³ *Tuzuk*, pp. 420-21; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 614; *Badshahnama* by Mohammad Amin Kazvini, p. 216; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 1, pp. 153-54; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1,

Shahjahan, communicated the message of the death of Jahangir through Banarasi to Prince Shahjahan and Mahabat Khan then in the Deccan¹. Before proceeding to the capital to decide the fate of succession Prince Shahjahan entrusted all the responsibilities and charges to Mahabat Khan. On the way a number of local chiefs also submitted before the Prince. On the advice of Mahabat Khan, Prince Shahjahan first paid homage to the shrine of Khawaja Muinuddin Chishti at Ajmer². Mahabat Khan expressed his thanks to the Khawaja for providing an opportunity to serve the new Emperor. He also requested Shahjahan to pardon him for his earlier faults at this holy place or to put him to death or to grant him to leave to go to Mecca for pilgrimage³. Shahjahan showed all kinds of considerations and assured Mahabat Khan for the restoration of his position and prestige in the empire as well as at the court⁴.

p. 388; English Factory (1624-29), p. 226; Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin, Vol. 2, pp. 142-43; Dutch Chronicle, p. 89.

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 421; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 615; Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin, Vol. 2, pp. 142-43; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 1, p. 154; *Shahjahannama*, Vol. 1, p. 450; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 389; *Dutch Chronicle*, p. 89.

² *Tuzuk*, p. 426; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 618; *Badshahnama*, Mohammad Amin Kazvini, p. 231; Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin, Sec. pp. 45-46; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 399; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 394; *Shahjahannama*, p. 46.

³ Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin, Sec. 1, pp. 45-46; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 399.

⁴ Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin, Sec. 1, p. 46.

CHAPTER – V

POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENTS AND POSITION OF MAHABAT KHAN DURING SHAH JAHAN'S REIGN

Mahabat Khan like earlier regime continued to enjoy respectable position in the time of Shahjahan also. His family members also received special attention of the Emperor. Shahjahan who had been the most celebrated commander of his father's reign was fully aware of the ability and commanding capacities of Mahabat Khan. Moreover, Mahabat Khan who was the most popular noble of the Mughal Empire, had a large followings of the Rajputs. Together with, the services Mahabat Khan had rendered in the time of Jahangir could not be denied at any cost by the new Emperor.

Mahabat Khan joined the service of Shahjahan in the Deccan on the eve of Jahangir's death. Shortly afterwards Jahangir died and Shahjahan proceeded from the Deccan to Agra for ascending the throne. Mahabat Khan, as mentioned earlier, also accompanied him. When they reached Ajmer Shahjahan granted him the place as his Jagir¹. Soon after Shahjahan ascended the throne on 4th Feb. 1628 Mahabat Khan was

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 426; *Badshahnama of Qazvini*, p. 231; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 618; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 399; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, p. 143; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 394.

reinstated to his earlier high *mansab* of 7000/7000 (*du-aspa sih as pa*) and the prestigious title of *Khan-i-khana Sipahsalar*. Besides, he was also given a robe of honour and four lakhs of rupees in cash¹. In a short period of two months he was appointed the governor of the Deccan in May 1628 after the removal of Khan-i-jahan Lodi from this post. Mahabat Khan was granted leave and his son Khan-i-Zaman the subedar of Malwa was sent to the Deccan to manage the affairs on behalf of his father². In the same month of May 1628 Mahabat Khan submitted himself before the Emperor and presented a large gift to him³. When Shahjahan left Delhi for the Deccan to punish the rebel Khan-i-Jahan Lodi he appointed Mahabat Khan as the *subedar* of Delhi⁴.

When Nazr Mohammad, the ruler of Balkh and Badakhshan tried to attack Kabul in July 1628, emperor Shahjahan appointed Mahabat Khan to lead the imperial army against him. On this occasion Mahabat Khan was rewarded with special robe of honour⁵. He proceeded towards Kabul

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 426; *Iqbalnama*, Vol. 3, p. 618; *Badshahnama of Qazvini*, p. 245; *Badshahnama of Lahori*, Vol. 1, pp. 114, 116; *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 1, pp. 361, 366; *Shahjahan Nama*, pp. 46, 47; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 399; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 397; *English Factory* (1624-29), p. 240.

² *Badshahnama*, Vol. 1, p. 199; *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 1, p. 287; *Shahjahan Nama*, p. 51; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 399; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, pp. 400-401.

³ *Badshahnama*, Vol. 1, p. 199.

⁴ *Shahjahan Nama*, Vol. 3, p. 399.

⁵ *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 2, pp. 211, 12, 18, 415, 455, 650, Vol. 3, p. 569; *Badshahnama of Qazvini*, p. 301; *Badshahnama of Lahori*, Vol. 1, pp. 212-13; *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 1, pp. 294-95; *Shahjahanama*, p. 52.

with a large and well equipped army. Nazar Mohammad had to retreat without fighting when he came to know about the approach of Mahabat Khan¹. The result was that Kabul was saved from falling into the hands of the ruler.

The revolt of Jujhar Singh is regarded as one of the most serious revolts of Shahjahan period. Mahabat Khan played a very significant role during the revolt of Jujhar Singh. Jujhar Singh, son of Bir Singh Deo², one of the most favoured nobles of deceased emperor Jahangir, was reinstated as the Raja of Orchha by Shahjahan when he visited the court on his coronation². But when he noticed that the new Emperor had decided to set up an enquiry about the wealth of his father, Bir Singh, who had accumulated from his neighbours during the last years of Jahangir, he left the court on 11 June 1628 without prior permission of Shahjahan. The emperor took the activity of Jujhar Singh as of rebellious nature. But he was not in a position to take strong action against the rebel immediately because Mahabat Khan with the main body of the imperial army had gone to Kabul to deal with Nazar Mohammad. After reaching

¹ *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 1, pp. 301-03; *Badshahnama of Lahori*, Vol. 1, pp. 215-16, 230; *Shahjahan Nama*, p. 52.

² *Badshahn Nama*, Vol. 1, p. 240.

Orchha Jujhar Singh started strengthening his position by repairing forts and new recruitments in the army¹.

After his return from Kabul, Mahabat Khan was appointed against Jujhar Singh in October 1628. He was awarded a robe of honour and one lakh rupees². Mahabat Khan encamped at a place called Jadah which was situated on a distance of 16 km. from the fort of Orchha. The Bundelas tried to disrupt the imperial army from marching ahead but they failed miserably. Despite dense forest the army of Mahabat Khan succeeded in surrounding the fort of Iraj from all sides. In their attempts to save the fort about 2000 of the Bundelas were killed by the imperial army. Mahabat Khan entered the fort and seized a large booty³.

Jujhar Singh who had over estimated his power earlier realized his weak position. Finding no way to protect himself and his kingdom he surrendered before Mahabat Khan and requested him to mediate for his forgiveness. On the request of Mahabat Khan Emperor pardoned⁴. Jujhar

¹ *Badshahnama* of Qazvini, p. 321; *Badshahnama* of Lahori, Vol. 1, pp. 203-04, 240-41; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 2, p. 215; *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 1, pp. 291, 319-20; *Shahjahan Nama*, pp. 51, 52.

² *Badshahnama* of Qazvini, pp. 321-22; *Badshahnama of Lahori*, Vol. 1, p. 241; *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 1, p. 320; *Shahjahan Nama*, p. 52; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 407; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 2, pp. 215, 18, 26.

³ *Badshahnama of Lahori*, Vol. 1, pp. 246-48; *Badshahnama of Qazvini*, pp. 326-27; *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 1, pp. 325-28; *Maasir-ul-Umra*, Vol. 1, p. 416, Vol. 2, pp. 215, 56, 783, 84; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 409.

⁴ *Badshahnama* of Lahori, Vol.1, pp. 246-48; *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.1, p.329; *Shahjahan Nama*, p. 53; *Badshahnama* (E & D), Vol. 7, p. 7.

Singh Mahabat Khan produced Jujhar Singh at the court. Jujhar Singh took an oath not to rebel again and serve the empire with complete loyalty throughout his life¹. As a reward for suppressing the revolt of Jujhar Singh so successfully the Emperor rewarded Mahabat Khan again with robe of honour².

As mentioned above that Khan Zaman the son of Mahabat Khan was looking the affairs of the Deccan on behalf of his father, was ordered in Nov. 1628 to establish the Mughal control on the fort of Bir³. He pressed the *quiledar* of Bir, Sayid Kamal, hard that he surrendered the fort to the Mughals without fighting. Besides, Khan Zaman reestablished Mughal control over the places which had been lost to the Nizam Shahi during the governorship of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi⁴.

Emperor Shahjahan now wanted to entrust new responsibilities to Mahabat Khan. Because of this reason he was appointed the governor of

¹ *Badshahnama* of Lahori, p.329; *Badshahnama* of Qazvini, Vol.1, pp. 254-55; *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 1, pp. 329-30; *Shahjahan Nama*, p. 54; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 2, p. 216; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 409.

² *Badshahnama* of Qazvini, p.329; *Badshahnama* of Lahori, Vol.1, p.255.

³ *Badshahnama* of Lahori, Vol.1, pp. 158, 199, 250; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol.1, p. 742, Vol. 3, p.399; *Shahjahan Nama*, pp.33, 51; *Shahjahan Nama*, Qazvini, pp.330-1.

⁴ *Shahjahan Nama*, Qazvini, p.331; *Badshahnama* of Lahori, Vol. 1, p.250; *Shahjahan Nama*, p.53; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 2, p.737.

Delhi in March 1629. His son, Khan Zaman, who was in the Deccan was recalled to the court¹.

During a brief period of about ten months (May 1628- March 1629) as the governor of the Deccan Mahabat Khan did many innovative works in the province. He successfully brought together the *Banjara* community from different parts of the country. Mahabat Khan made them economically sound and in turn they became the companions of Mahabat Khan. The services of the *Banjaras* were used for the welfare of the people. They were expected to bring grain from different parts and sell them at the prices fixed by Mahabat Khan. The author of *Zakhirat-ul-khawanin*, Farid Bhakkari who was the *Diwan* and *Amin* of Pargana Bir in Balaghat mentions that the support of these Banjaras played very useful role to the imperial army². He states that the Daccanis in course of plunder used to set the fodder on fire to create a crisis of food supply for the imperial horses. But it were the *Banjaras* who supplied fodder and other essential commodities like grain to the Mughal army by their oxen from other parts of the Deccan. In this way the regular supply of grain

¹ *Badshahnama* of Qazvini, p. 333; *Badshahnama* of Lahori, pp. 255, 257; *Maasir-ul-Umra*, Vol. 1, pp. 175, 742; *Tazkirat-ul-Umra*, p. 89.

² *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. 1, p. 46.

was maintained. The author also informs us that Mahabat Khan maintained 5,000 permanent retainers most of whom were Rajputs¹.

In March, 1629, Mahabat Khan reached at the Court from the Deccan and now again he was appointed as the governor of Delhi by Emperor and Deccan was assigned to Iradat Khan². In May, 1632 Mahabat Khan came to the court and presented one thousand *Muhar* and nine elephants to the emperor as tribute. Of nine elephants only one was accepted by Shahjahan³.

After serving three years as the governor of Delhi Mahabat Khan was in June 1632, appointed as the governor of Deccan. He left Delhi with his family. His son Khanzaman was appointed into Deccan. The Emperor rewarded Mahabat Khan and his son with robe of honour⁴.

Due to its strategic importance the fort of Daulatabad had been a symbol of prestige for the Daccan rulers as well as the kings of Delhi. Because of these reasons successive attempts were made by the Delhi

¹ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. 1, p. 47.

² *Badshahnama* of Qazvini, p. 333; *Badshahnama* of Lahori, Vol. 1, pp. 255, 257; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 1, pp. 175, 742; *Tazkirat-ul-Umra*, p. 8a.

³ *Maasir-ul-Umara*, vol.3, p.5, *Zakhirat ul-Khawanin*, vol.3, p.109, vol.2, p.147..

⁴ *Badshahnama* of Qazvini, pp. 475-76; *Badshahnama* of Lahori, Vol. 1, p. 426; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. 1, pp. 46-47.

Sultans and later on by the Mughals to bring this fort under their command but they failed on most of the occasions¹.

When Malik Amber died in May, 1626 and his son Fath Khan succeeded him Adil Khan of Bijapur taking the advantages of the chaos advanced to annex Daulatabad fort. Fath Khan keeping in mind the suggestions of his deceased father that he should not trust the rulers of Bijapur sought the help of Mahabat Khan and also promised to hand over the fort of Daulatabad to him. But at the same time Adil Khan succeeded in winning Fath Khan to his side².

As discussed above, Mahabat Khan was to prevent the Adil Shahi army before they reached the fort. Because of crisis of time Mahabat Khan without much preparation and with a limited army at his disposal left for Daulatabad. But he was surprised when he found Fath Khan, supporting the Adil Shahi officers like Farhad Khan, Randula, Murari Pandit and others against the imperial army².

Despite small army in comparison to the enemy and limited provision at his disposal Mahabat Khan did not lose the courage and laid the siege of the Daulatabad fort. A number of Skirmishes took place

¹ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. 1, p. 48.

² *Badshahnama* of Qazvini, p. 534; *Badshahnama* of Lahori, Vol. 1, p. 499; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, p. 147, Vol. 3, p. 109; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, p. 147; Vol. 3, p. 109; *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 1, pp. 567-68; *Maasir-ul-Umra*, Vol. 3, p. 5; *Shahjahanama*, p. 81; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 477.

between the army of Mahabat Khan and that of Bijapur. Khairiyat Khan of Bijapur entered with 6000 army in Feb., 1633 into the fort of Daulatabad with the help of Fath Khan¹. In course of these fights Khan Zaman, son of Mahabat Khan displayed such feats of valour that according to *Zakhirat-ul-khawanin* could not be imagined².

Some of the events which took place during the siege of Daulatabad indicate that there were dissensions among the Mughal officers who were not steadily fast in helping Mahabat Khan on this grave situation. This kind of affair is largely substantiated from the attitude of Jamal Khan, son of Dilawar Khan Kakar. When he was ordered to join Mahabat Khan he deliberately delayed and also failed to show due respect to the Mughal commander. When Mahabat Khan realized Jamal Khan's relevancy he warned him for harsh actions for not dealing with the business of the empire seriously. Jamal Khan lost temper and tried to attack Mahabat Khan but he was very soon overpowered by Mahabat Khan and his son Khan Zaman. The dissension among the Mughal officers is also manifested from the role of other nobles at this juncture. As states above, when Mahabat Khan and Jamal Khan were fighting each

¹ *Badshahnama* of Qazvini, pp. 534-36; *Badshahnama* of Lahori, Vol. 1, pp. 499-01; *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 1, pp. 568-69; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 477; *Shahjahanama*, p. 81.

² *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. 1, p. 47.

other the other Mughal nobles like Khan Dawan, Riayat Khan and Hakim Khush-hal Bakhshi did not come to intervene in the matter¹.

During the siege of Daulatabad, Mahabat Khan faced another problem from the Deccani Mughal nobles named Yaquat Khan Habshi despite Shahjahan had given all kinds of favour to Yaquat and awarded him the title of Khudawand Khan. At this time, he had a large contingent numbering about 20,000 mostly consisted of the Deccanis. When Daulatabad fort was likely to be conquered he along with his large army joined the service of Adil Khan and deserted Mahabat Khan. He also sent reinforcement to the enemy from the adjacent localities. The Mughal army failed to prevent them because of their limited strength². When Mahabat Khan came to know about the role of Khudawand Khan he immediately appointed Miyan Ahmad Khan Neyazi to that side being used by the enemy for reinforcement inside the fort. Mahabat Khan along with his son took the charge of other side of the fort. Rest of the Mughal nobles with their army were appointed to check the movement of the enemy³.

¹ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. 1, pp. 47-48.

² *Maasir-ul-Umra*, Vol. 3, pp. 958-63; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, pp. 149-50, Vol. 3, pp. 137-39; *Badshahnama* of Qazvini, pp. 537-38; *Badshahnama* of Lahori, Vol. 1, pp. 502-03; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 478; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 297.

³ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. 1, p. 47.

Farid Bhakkari says that there was acute crisis of grain and fodder. The result was that the prices of grain increased many fold. Since the imperial army was not in a position to continue the siege for a longer time without provision Mahabat Khan ordered his son, Khan Zaman to arrange it from Zafarnagar which was located about forty five *kos* from Daulatabad fort. Khan Zaman defeated the enemy several times when they attempted to prevent him and plunder the provision he was carrying from Zafarnagar¹.

Now Mahabat Khan with his large forces, started marching towards Maha fort. Fath Khan and Khairiyat Khan were alarmed to know this news. At last on 28th April, 1633, Khairiyat Khan of Bijapur surrendered himself at night to Mahabat Khan².

Briefly to say, with the passage of time the enemy defending the fort from inside were not in a position to serve themselves for a long period due to lack of provisions.

The Mughal army entered the fort proudly. Fath Khan, who had displayed disloyalty to Mahabat Khan now came out of the fort with the

¹ *Badshahnama* of Qazvini, pp. 540-43; *Badshahnama* of Lahori, Vol. 1, pp. 505-07; *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 1, pp. 574-76; *Shahjahan Nama*, p. 82, *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 1, p. 743, Vol. 3, p. 443.

² *Badshahnama* of Lahori, Vol. 1, pp. 512-17; *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 1, pp. 579-89; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 1, pp. 751-52; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 481-83, Vol. 3, pp. 401-02; *Shahjahan Nama*, p. 83.

minor son of Nizamul Mulk and surrendered before Mahabat Khan. Mahabat Khan took all the wealth that had been amassed for a long period and kept in the fort. Finally, Fath Khan surrendered his fort to Mahabat Khan on 17th June, 1633¹.

When Mahabat Khan left the fort Fath Khan who was now a captive of the imperial army sent a secret message to Nizamul Mulk with the request that he could be liberated because the Mughal army was very small and there was dissension also in the army. Nizamul Mulk followed Mahabat Khan up to Zafarnagar but retreated without success².

On the basis of above discussion we can conclude that the conquest of Daulatabad fort was one of remarkable achievements of Mahabat Khan. This was so because he achieved it with a limited army in comparison to a large army of Bijapur. In spite of desertion of Mughal nobles and their dubious role and the acute crisis of provision during this period Mahabat Khan kept the operation continue and faced all the challenges so courageously that he emerged victorious at last.

After reaching Burhanpur he ordered the *diwan* and *bakhshi* to submit the total expenditure incurred on the conquest of Daulatabad fort.

¹ *Badshahnama*, Vol. 1, pp. 528, 532-34, 540-41; *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 1, pp. 605-11, 618-19; *Maasir-ul-Umra*, Vol. 3, pp. 6, 403-04; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, pp. 487-91; *Shahjahan Nama*, p. 85-86.

² *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, p. 152.

In the report the total expenditure was shown to twenty lakhs of rupees. Mahabat Khan submitted twenty five lakhs of rupees to the treasurer including five lakhs which had been given to him by the Emperor as a reward for the conquest of Daulatabad fort¹.

Following the conquest of Daulatabad fort, Mahabat Khan decided to take other important endeavour- the conquest of Parenda. For this, he wrote a letter to Shahjahan from Burhanpur with the request to allow him to conquer the fort of Parenda. which had been his dream and served a gateway to Bijapur. As he had experienced great problems during the conquest of Daulatabad fort on account of the Mughal officers he also requested the Emperor to appoint a Prince to lead the expedition so that the dissension in the army and nobles could be removed¹. The request of Mahabat Khan was accepted by Shahjahan with great pleasure and he appointed prince Shah Shuja accordingly to lead the Mughal forces.

A number of leading nobles of the empire such as Raja Jai Singh, Raja Vitthal Das, Ilahwardi Khan, Saiyid Khan Jahan, Shujaat Khan, Khan Dauran. Ahmad Khan Neyazi, etc. were ordered to accompany the prince. But the over all command of the campaign was left in the hands of

¹ *Badshahnama* of Lahori Vol. 1, pp. 536-37; *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 1, pp. 614-15; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 404.

Mahabat Khan and 25 Lakh rupees was granted for this expedition¹. Since the Mughal army had greatly suffered on earlier occasion due to paucity of provision now special attention was paid in this regard. According to Farid Bhakkari, four lakhs of rupees were spent on the purchase of grains and other articles².

After full preparation Mahabat Khan deputed his son Khan Zaman along with other officers in advance with a force numbering about eight thousands³. The second wing of the army was sent under the leadership of Sujat Khan Barda with three thousand troopers. He was also assigned the task of collecting grains from the *Banjaras* of Bir and carry it to the Parenda fort. According to Mahabat Khan's instruction this party surrounded the fort from all the sides⁴.

On 24th February 1634 Mahabat Khan with the main body of the imperial army reached to the Parenda fort and encamped very close to the appointed place. Mahabat Khan now ordered his son Mirza Lahrasp to lay

¹ *Badshahnama*, Vol. 1, pp. 537-38; *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 1, pp. 615-16; *Maasir-ul-Umra*, Vol. 3, p. 404; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, p. 154; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 491; *Shahjahanama*, p. 86.

² *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 1, p. 154.

³ *Badshahnama*, Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 35, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 2, p. 48; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 306; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, gives the name of that Khiwas Khan sent; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, pp. 155, 56; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. 1, pp. 49, 50.

⁴ *Badshahnama of Lahori*, Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 36; *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 2, p. 48; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 306; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 495. According to *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, vol.2, pp 155,56, Sujaat Khan Barda with other four *mansabdars* was sent.

the siege of the fort. Meantime, the forces of Bijapur led by sons of Yaqut Khan and Raghu Rao Ghatge, both known as the prestige of the Daccani, attacked Qalandar Khan who was guarding a hilly tract which was ten *jarib* in height from the ground level. Mahabat Khan immediately moved for the help of Qalander Khan and reached in time. Despite the enemy had a large army consisting of about seven thousand troopers failed to defeat the imperial army. Farid Bhakkari had praised Mahabat Khan's bravery in the following words. "Mahabat Khan, wherever he turned the enemy dispersed like *banatulnash* and he gave a stiff fight."¹

A fierce battle took place between the Mughal and Bijapur forces. In course of the battle Mhesh Das, one of the trustworthy servants of Mahabat Khan showed rare valour during the fight. When the battle was on its peak prince Shah Shuja ordered Khan Dawan to move immediately to help the imperial army. The prince himself got ready to proceed but Mahabat and his son with the support of other officers had succeeded in compelling the enemy to retreat. For this achievement Mahabat Khan was given a robe of honour by the prince².

¹ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. 1, pp. 49, 50.

² *Badshahnama* of Lahori, Vol. 1, Part 2, pp. 38-39; *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 2, pp. 50-52; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, pp. 404-05, Vol. 1, pp. 752-53; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, pp. 155-57; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, pp. 496-98; *Shahjahan Nama*, p. 89.

Despite the best efforts of the Mughals about eighty brave Rajputs were killed during the fighting and a large number of them received serious wounds. But Mahabat Khan was not fully satisfied with the bravery and fighting skill of the Rajputs they displayed at this time. He made objection on their performance by saying that the Rajputs knew to die but not strike. Now he decided to recruit Saiyids, Shaikhzadas Mughals and Afghans who were supposed by Mahabat Khan as expert archers¹.

On account of the above reasons the majority of the Mughal officers including Khan Zaman, son of Mahabat Khan were of the view that the conquest of Paranda should be cancelled this year and they should return and try again in the following year. The most important reason was the arrival of rainy season². The other factor which contributed to develop such feeling among the Mughals were the failure of the imperial army to achieve a decisive battle, loss of many brave Rajputs and destruction of bullock carts and grain which had been set on fire by the Deccani forces³.

¹ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. 1, p. 50.

² *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. 1, p. 51; *Badshahnama, of Lahori* Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 46; *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 2, p. 55.

³ *Badshahnama*, Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 46; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 500; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, wrongly say Shahshuja returned to Paranda conquest without permission and wishes of Mahabat Khan. *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. 1, p. 57.

Farid Bhakkari states that due to egoistic nature of Mahabat Khan a large number of leading nobles were not happy with him. Because of this many senior nobles approached the prince with the request to abandon the conquest of Parenda fort at this time. They also succeeded in getting their suggestion approved by the prince. Mahabat Khan was totally against the views of the Mughal officers and decision of the prince; but he was bound to leave the place. Mahabat Khan also became annoyed with his son Khan Zaman for supporting the view of other nobles on this occasion¹.

After reaching Burhanpur on 13 June 1634², Mahabat Khan sent his Diwan Kaka Pandit to Akbarabad to recruit about ten thousand army belonging to the communities of Sayyid, Shaikhzada, Mughal and Afghan so that next year he would be in a position to conquer the fort of Parenda³.

When emperor Shahjahan came to know that the prince and other had decided to revise the seize of Parenda fort and reached Burhanpur they were recalled at the court⁴. When the prince and leading nobles

¹ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, , Sec. 1, p. 51.

² *Badshahnama* of Lahori Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 46; *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 2, p. 56; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 307; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. 1, p. 51.

³ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, pp. 160-61; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 406.

⁴ *Badshahnama of Lahori*, Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 47; *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 2, pp. 56-57; *Shahjahan Nama*, p. 91; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. 1, p. 51.

presented themselves before Shahjahan he did not pay much attention to them. It clearly indicates that he was not happy with their decision because it manifested great loss of prestige of the Mughal emperor.

The failure of Mahabat Khan to conquer the fort of Parenda due to differences of the nobles and his son proved of vital consequence for him. He took it as a serious blow to his dignity¹. During the same period he fell serious ill because of the tuber culosis disease. The doctors diagnosed him and advised to restrain from any kind of stress, otherwise, the medicine would fail to cure him². Very soon, Mahabat Khan also realized that he would not survive for a long time. But despite of severe illness he did not confine himself to the bed but continued to hold the meetings as usual³.

It is also surprising that the bad health of Mahabat Khan did not stop him from his attempt to fulfil his desire of conquering the Parenda fort. Keeping in mind the awaited dream Mahabat Khan left Burhanpur for the conquest of the fort and encamped at a place called Mohan Nala⁴.

¹ *Badshahnama* of Lahori, Vol. 1, Part 2, pp. 45-46; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, pp. 155, 160, 161; *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 2, pp. 54-55; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. 1, p. 500; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 406.

² *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, p. 162.

³ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, p. 162.

⁴ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, p. 162; *Maasir-ul-Umra*, Vol. 3, p. 407.

While expressing his view about the character of Mahabat Khan the author of *Zakhirat-ul-khawanin* contradicts himself. In the beginning he portrays Mahabat Khan as conceited, independent minded, proud, haughty and agonistic. But in the context of Mahabat Khan's move to conquer Parenda fort for the second time despite serious illness, the author has put remarks on him that he did so because he wanted to become famous in the history and wanted to leave an impression that he never showed slackness in the service of the emperor and laid down his life in that path. As mentioned above, Mahabat Khan was totally against the raising siege of the fort and he wanted to establish Mughal control at any rate. This kind of desire was expressed by Mahabat Khan at a time when he was physically well¹.

Mahabat Khan had become fully aware of his last days, he distributed four lakhs of *asharfis* among the attendants of the palace. He also prepared a detailed list of his property in cash, horse, elephant, and camel and put on it his signature and seal and sent to the royal court². Not only this he told his beloved wife Khanam that she should not keep anything in her possession but all should be known to the Emperor³. When he was not in a position to write he requested Hakim Khush-hal

¹ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Sec. 1, p. 52.

² *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, p. 163; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 407.

³ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, p. 163.

and Khawaja Ibrahim Husain to prepare a memorandum. But the draft prepared by them was not upto his satisfaction. Now he called Khawaja Makran Das, the munshi of Hakim Khush-hal who understood the temperament of Mahabat Khan very well who completed the memorandum¹. Farid Bhakkari, on the basis of the statement of Makran Das, mentions that even in the midst of the state of death agony the mental power of Mahabat Khan was completely intact or functioning properly and so the dictations were full of sense and reason. After the draft was finally written Mahabat Khan put his signature at the end for its authenticity. On the request of Mahabat Khan the draft was brought to the court by Hakim Khush-hal².

After sending his last will to the Emperor, Mahabat Khan called all the Rajput chiefs and thanked all of them for their exceptional loyalty and support to him for a long time which made Mahabat Khan as a leading figure all over the country. But at this time also he sought the support of the Rajputs. He informed them that he had already submitted all the accounts to the Emperor and no arrear is left. They please see his property was not confiscated and workshops sealed by the Mughal *Bakhshi* and *Diwan*. According to the will of Mahabat Khan the Rajputs right from Burhanpur to Delhi did not allow the clerks of the royal department to

¹ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, pp. 116, 364.

² *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, pp. 116, 364.

interfere in his property¹. Then Mahabat Khan died on October, 1634². As desired by Mahabat Khan on his death-bed his dead body was carried by Rajputs to the Emperor at Delhi where he was cremated³.

Emperor Shahjahan bestowed on the sons of the deceased Mahabat Khan every kind of privileges. He took only limited amount of cash from the wealth sent to him by Mahabat Khan immediately proceeding to his death and remaining was distributed by Shahjahan among his family members. Khanam the wife of late Mahabat Khan constructed an enclosure around the grave of her husband in Delhi⁴.

¹ *Maasir-ul-Umra*, Vol. 3, p. 407; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, pp. 164-65.

² *Badshahnama*, Vol. 1, Part 2, pp. 59-60; *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. 2, pp. 67-68; *Shahjahan Nama*, Vol. 3, p. 407.

³ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, pp. 164-65; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, pp. 407-08.

⁴ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. 2, pp. 165, 172; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 408.

CONCLUSION

Mahabat Khan belonged to a humble family in term of power and position. But from the very beginning of his joining the service of Prince Salim as an *ahadi* Mahabat Khan within a limited span of time attracted the attention of the Prince by dint of his qualities. He in the time of Jahangir's princehood fully established his influence and proved to be as one of the most loyal officials of the prince. The killing of Ujjainiya Raja of Bhojpur by Mahabat Khan on the behest of Jahangir proved a turning point in his career. From this time onwards Mahabat Khan became one of the close associates of Prince Salim.

On the eve of the accession of Jahangir when some of the leading nobles of deceased emperor Akbar were hostile to Jahangir, Mahabat Khan not fully supported the cause of Jahangir but played a vital role in melting the crisis which had surfaced on account of Khusrau's revolt. Suffice to this, Mahabat Khan in the early days of Jahangir's reign proved beyond doubt that Kinship was meaningless before the loyalty to the Mughal throne. This Mahabat Khan proved from putting one of his younger brothers to death when he was proved to have supported rebel Prince Khusrau against Jahangir.

After the accession crisis was over Jahangir created his own nobility. Mahabat Khan was one of those nobles of Jahangir who were given rapid promotions and high positions at the court. From the accession of Jahangir till his marriage with Nur Jahan in 1611, Mahabat Khan continued to receive promotions till he attained the rank of 4000/3500. Besides, he was given important command to lead the army against Prince Khusrau, Mewar and the Deccan. During this short period of about six years Mahabat Khan rendered so valuable services to the Mughal empire that he became a leading figure of the Jahangiri nobility.

The period, subsequent to Jahangir's marriage in 1611, did not prove favourable for Mahabat Khan. The interference of Nur Jahan to the extreme limit in the business of the administration and the selection for the appointment to different important posts on the ground of affiliation to her family created strong resentment in a section of the nobility. Mahabat Khan openly expressed his opposition to this and as a consequence sharp difference arose between him and the family of Itamad-ud-Daula specially Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan. The matter reached to such an extent that Mahabat Khan requested Jahangir not to depend entirely on the guidelines of Nur Jahan in regard to the execution of state business. But unfortunately

Mahabat Khan failed to create a group of his supporters; even the Iranis as a group did not support him at the court. The important position that he came to enjoy was simply because of his close association with emperor and not as a matter of state policy which after 1611 was being substantially guided by Nur Jahan. Although even after his rift with the family of Nur Jahan he remained as an important noble of the empire but he seems to have lost the favour of the Emperor. He was completely isolated from the court and even his family members were not very close to him. He was leading a life of complete isolation as governor of Kabul, when due to the revolt of Khurram he was called to court by no other than Nur Jahan herself. On his arrival he was given command of the army to suppress the rebellion of Khurram. In giving command of the army to Mahabat Khan Nur Jahan had her own motives. She knew very well that Mahabat Khan was loyal to the Emperor and was also the most competent military commander. She also knew that he was not an good turns with Khurram. Therefore he will make all out efforts to suppress his rebellion. Actually Nur Jahan was eager to promote the cause of Shahryar. However, the successful campaign against Khurram raised the prestige of Parwez and the long association of Parwez with Mahabat made him a strong contents for the throne.

Nur Jahan succeeded in achieving her objectives. But she was faced with another problem immediately after the suppression of the revolt of Khurram. Nur Jahan now started making efforts to prevent Parwez from attracting the attention of Jahangir and leading nobles of the empire. As first step Nur Jahan got Mahabat Khan removed from the post of *ataliq* of Parwez. He was summoned to the court and in his place Khan-i-Jahan Lodi was appointed. Parwez and Mahabat Khan both reacted sharply to this decision because they took it as a move for weakening their strength.

The efforts of Nur Jahan to make Mahabat Khan ineffective from playing any role in matter of succession continued till the death of Jahangir. This is evident from the fact that after the suppression of Khurram's revolt Mahabat Khan was ordered to submit his accounts. He was also alleged for accumulating large amount of revenue from the local chiefs of Bengal and also for having many elephants seized by him in course of Khurram's revolt without the prior permission of the imperial authority. The charge was leveled against Mahabat Khan not only to defame him but to convince Jahangir that he had become arrogant and disloyal to the Emperor. When Mahabat Khan learnt that Nur Jahan had prepared the ground for his arrest on the basis of above charges he refused to come to the court alone. He

decides to produce himself before the emperor and explain the matter in proper perspective and without the interference of Nur Jahan or Asaf Khan. But it was not possible in normal circumstances. The encampment of the Emperor near river *Jhelum* and the absence of imperial army from the royal camp provided a favourable opportunity for Mahabat Khan to bring Jahangir under his control and to prove himself as innocent. But Mahabat Khan lost his control over Jahangir in person very shortly.

The above incident shows that the rift between Mahabat Khan and the family of Itamad-ud-Daula had crossed the limit of compromise. This episode also indicate that even by this time Mahabat Khan had his full confidence in Jahangir. But it was obvious that Jahangir would not give an edge to Mahabat Khan against his beloved wife. The result was that Mahabat Khan was not punished for his actions but again sent against Khurram. After the departure of Mahabat Khan from Lahore Nur Jahan started taking punitive action against his followers and supporters. A large number of them were killed and imprisoned. At the same time imperial army was deputed against Mahabat Khan to suppress him. In this time of difficulties Mahabat Khan received great help from the Rajput Chiefs of different regions.

The position of Mahabat Khan had become very weak due to desertion and loss of his supporters. Finally he sought the help of Prince Khurram against whom he had been sent. Shortly after that Jahangir died.

Shahjahan, the Emperor in waiting, forgave Mahabat Khan for his past misdeeds because now his services were required to settle the issue of succession in his favour.

After ascending the throne Shah Jahan duly recognized services of Mahabat Khan. He was raised to the rank of 7000/7000 (*du aspa sih aspa*) and was appointed to lead the expedition against the ruler of Balkh and then was entrusted the command to suppress the revolt of Bundela ruler, Jujhar Singh. Mahabat Khan forced Jujhar Singh to surrender before the imperial army and on his request he was reinstated to his previous position. The credit for bringing the fort of Daultabad also goes to Mahabat Khan. The bad health of Mahabat Khan failed to prevent him from leading the army for the conquest of Parenda. Mahabat Khan throughout his life time acted as a commander and died as a commander as well. The death of Mahabat Khan was a great loss to the Mughal Empire.

From a careful study of *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin* it emerges that Mahabat Khan as a noble and human being distinguished himself from his

contemporaries. From the same work we also become aware of different aspects of Mahabat Khan's life which need our special attention because they would have played important role in moulding his outlook in dealing successfully even in adverse circumstances. The work also helps us in understanding the determining factors which made Mahabat Khan so courageous and popular during his life-time.¹

Farid Bhakkari says that Mahabat Khan by dint of merit yearned good name. He was ever ready to sacrifice his life for the sake of the administration of the empire. Mahabat Khan had great honour for the worthy persons and because of this he used to take keen interest in gaining informations about great personalities.²

The reason for Mahabat Khan's cordial relation with the Rajput becomes very clear from *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*. According to it he had a depth knowledge of history. Mahabat Khan's knowledge about every clan of Rajputs full of sacrifice and glory very much moulded his mind to give them preference over the other section of Mughal nobility like Turanis or Iranis. Because of this the majority of his army consisted of the Rajputs.³ Mahabat

¹ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, vol.2, pp.116-172.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p.172.

³ *Ibid.*, p.167.

Khan had great faith in their loyalty and bravery. That's why we notice that Mahabat Khan on his death-bed get prepared his last will in the presence of his Rajput followers. We have also found in the preceding discussion that the Rajputs of Mahabat Khan also stood loyal to him even in the time of crisis.

Mahabat Khan who was one of the richest⁴ nobles of the Mughal empire adopted a very simple life. According to Bhakkari the total cost of his dress did not exceed rupee five. The number of his personal attendants was also very limited. His tent as well as the carpet used by him were also not very expansive. Mahabat Khan used to take one time meal but of rich quality and heavy in quantity. It appears that he was very fond of eating different kinds of meals. To satisfy his taste of various kinds he employed best of the Iranis, Turanis, Kashmiris and European cooks. For the non-Muslims he employed Brahman cooks.⁵

As mentioned above, Mahabat Khan preferred the Rajputs in his service but he lived in the company of his own sect i.e. Iranis whom Mahabat Khan regarded as the best creation of God on the earth. He was

⁴ *Mahabat Khan* had on his disposal an annual income of one crore rupee. *Z.K.* vol. 2, p.165.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.169-70.

proud of being an Irani also for there power of better understanding, liberality and cleanliness etc. At the same time he did not like show of power. Due to this he did not like to be called as Khan Khanan and the drums were not beaten at the time of his entry into his house or camp. He used to say that he had no ardent desire left for those things.⁶

Mahabat Khan was an open hearted man. He always showed favours to needy persons and specially his companions. He had complete faith in his officials and never interfered in their business.⁷ This becomes more clear when Bhakkari mentions that Mahabat Khan was unaware of the receipt and expenditure of his estates; he left it in the hands of his managers and trusted them. He had great trust in Kaka Pandit who was his *diwan*. Mahabat Khan paid his officials, soldiers and servants handsomely. This was one of the reasons that they always supported Mahabat Khan and many of them sacrificed their lives for the sake of their patron. There were ten of the Rajputs of Mahabat Khan who were paid very high salary of one lakh rupee per annum each. Mahabat Khan is reported to have gifted about eighty elephants among his servants during his life-time.⁸

⁶ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, vol. 2, p.170, *Maasir-ul-Umara*, vol.3, p.408.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol.2, p.168.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol.2, pp.165-171.

Farid Bhakkari provides a very important piece of information related to the religious belief of Mahabat Khan. He says that during the larger part of his life Mahabat Khan remained a very secular man and did not show any respect to Shism to which he originally belonged. This might have been one of the important reasons that Mahabat Khan failed to win the Irani faction to his side at the court of Jahangir. According to Bhakkari it was only towards the end of his life that Mahabat Khan became a true believer in shiite faith.⁹

Besides, innumerable qualities, Mahabat Khan was a great expert and well versed in subjects like history, philosophy, astrology science and literature specially in composing poetry.

The author of *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin* states that many of the sons of Mahabat Khan resembled their father in bravery and commanding spirit. It were the reasons that Jahangir and afterwards Shahjahan appointed the sons of Mahabat Khan to different important positions and high *mansabs* following the death of Mahabat Khan. Amanauallah, the eldest son of Mahabat Khan, was promoted to the rank of 5000/5000 and given the title of Khan Zaman. He like his father was also given prestigious administrative posts by being appointed as the governor of Malwa and then of Balaghat. He

⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp.170-71, *Maasir-ul-Umara*, vol.3, pp.408-09.

showed exceptional valour during the conquest of Daulatabad and Parenda forts. He earned great fame by suppressing Shahji in the Deccan.¹⁰

Mirza Lahrasp Khan was also given important position and high *mansab* by Shahjahan and later on Aurangzeb. He joined the service of Shahjahan as *Mir Tuzuk* and then appointed as the *faujdar* of Bahraich. For his outstanding performance during the Balkh and Qandhar campaigns he was given a *mansab* of 1000. In the 24th R.Y. of Shahjahan he was appointed as *Mir Bakhshi* and promoted to the rank of 4000/3000. In the following year he was appointed the *subedar* of Kabul and his *mansab* was increased to 5000/5000 and the title of Mahabat Khan was also awarded. In the time of Aurangzeb also he continued to flourish. Aurangzeb assigned Lahrasp the *subedari* of Gujarat and promoted him to the rank of 6000/5000.¹¹

The other sons of Mahabat Khan such as Mirza Diler Himmat, Mirza Gurshaps, Mirza Bahruz and Mirza Afrasiyab also served the Mughal emperor's in various capacities but they did not receive high *mansabs* and position at the Mughal court because unlike their father they appear to have failed in attracting the attention of either Shahjahan or Aurangzeb.

¹⁰ For more details see *Zakhirat-ul Khawanin*, vol. 2, pp.263-71., *Maasir-ul-Umara*, vol.3, pp.740-48.

¹¹ *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, vol. 3, pp.95-96. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, vol.3, pp.590-50.

It is the proper place to close the discussion on Mahabat Khan with the words of Farid Bhakkari. “How long I bring the greatness of Mahabat Khan to the world of writing for it is more manifest than the sun. The Hindus call him *avtar* (incarnation of God) and the followers of Islam consider him to be the manifestation of God’s glory (*jalal*)”¹²

¹² *Zakhiraul-ul-Khawanin*, vol.3, p.96.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Contemporary and Near Contemporary Sources:

1. *Akbarnama*, Abul Fazl, ed.; Maulavi Abdur Rahim, pub. Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1877.
2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Abul Fazl, ed., Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Delhi, 1856, English tr. Vol.1, Blochmann, Calcutta, 1927 Vol.II & III Jerrette Calcutta, 1949 and 1948.
3. *Risala-i-Tarikh Asad Beg Qazwini*, Asad Beg Qazini, B.M. 999
4. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Jahangir Nuruddin Mohammad, ed., Sayed Ahmad Pb., Aligarh Press, 1864. tr., Alexander Rogers, ed., Henry Beveridge, Pb., London Royal Asiatic Society, 1909, reprinted, 1994.
5. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, Motamid Khan Bakhshi, Pb., Asiatic Society of Bengal (Vol. 3), 1865, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow (All three volume in one), 1870.
6. *Masir-i- Jahangiri*, Kamgar Hussain, Pb., Asia Pblishing House, Bombay, 1978, ed., Azra Alvi, Dept. of History, AMU, Aligarh.
7. *Fatehnama-i-Nurjahan Begam*, Kami Shiraji, Rotographc No. 148, Center of Advanced Study in History, AMU, Aligarh.
8. *Intekhab-i-Jahangir Shahi*, unknown writer, Rotographe No. 29, Center of Advanced Study in History, AMU, Aligarh.
9. *Badshahnama*, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Pb., Calcutta, Asiatic Society, 1867, Mohammad Salih Kambo, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Pb., 1923-46 into 3 vol.

10. *Badshahnama*, Mohammad Amin Kazvini, Manuscript No. 68, Center of Advanced Study in History, AMU, Aligarh.
11. *Ahwal-i-Shahzadgi-i-Shahjahan* Padshah, Mu'tamid Khan, Bankipur, Patna.
12. *Shahjahan Nama*, Mohammad Sadiq Khan, Microfilm No. 305, CAS, AMU, Aligarh.

LATER SOURCES:

13. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, Pb., Sayyed Press, Hyderabad Deccan, Microfilm No. 31, CAS, AMU, Aligarh.
14. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Mohammad Hasim Khafi Khan, Pb., Calcutta College Press, 1869, Vol. I, babur to Jahangir, Vol. II, Shahjahan.
15. *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, Shaikh Farid Bhakkhari, Pb., Pakistan Historical Society, 1961, 74. tr. Ziauddin A. Desai, Pb., Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delhi, 1993, Vol. I & II.
16. *Masir-ul-Umara*, Shahnawaz Khan, Pb., Asiatic Society of Bengal (3 Vol.) tr., H. Beveridge, Pb., Calcutta Asiatic Society, 1941, 2 V being Biographies, Patna, Janki Prakashan, 1979.
17. *Tazkirat-ul-Umara*, Lala Kewal Ram, Manuscript Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh.
18. *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani*, Khwaja Niamattullah, ed., Imam Al-Din, Dacca, 1960.
19. *The History of India as told by its own Historian*, tr, Elliot, ed., Dowson, Vols. VI and VII

HINDI SOURCES:

1. *Vir Singh Deo charita and Jahangir Yas Chandrika*, Mishra, Keshav Das, ed; Vishwanath Prasad Mishra, Allahabad, 1959.
2. *Munhat Nainsi Khyat*, Hindi, tr. Ram Narain Dugar, Ajmer 1926.
3. *Vir Vinod*, Kaviraj Shyamal Das.2 Vol; Pb. Delhi, B.R. 1986

EUROPEAN SOURCES:

1. *A contemporary Dutch Chronicle of Moghol India*, tr. & ed., Brij Narayan and S.R. Sharma, Pb., Sushil Gupta, Calcutta, 1957.
2. *Early Travels in India*, ed., William Foster (1583-1619), Pb., S. Chand, Delhi, 1968.
3. *European Travellers under the Mughals (1580-1627)*, ed., Mohammad Azhar Ansari, Idarah-i-Adabiyat, Delhi (1975).
4. *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India (1615-19)*, ed., William Foster, Oxford University Press, London, 1926.
5. *Travels of Peter Mundy, in Europe and Asia (1608-1667)*, Vol. 2, Travels in Asia (1630-1634), ed., Sir Richard Carnak Temple, Hakluyt Society, London, 1907-1917.
6. *Storio Do Mogor*, 1653-1708 Niccolas Manucci, tr. with introduction and notes, William Irvin, Pb., Low Price Pblcation, Delhi, (1907-1908), reprinted, 1990.
7. *Description of India and Fragment of Indian History*, tr. J.S. Hoyland and annotated by S.N. Banarjee: *The empire of the Great Moghols*, Kitab Mahal, Bombay, 1928.

8. *Jahangir's India*, Pelsart tr., Geyl and Moreland, Delhi, 1972.
9. *Travels in the Mughal Empire (1658-68)*, tr., A constable revised, V.A. Smith Second Edition, London, 1916.
10. *English Factories in India (1618-54)*, William Foster, Pub., Oxford Clarendon, 1913.

MODERN WORKS

1. *Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, revised ed. OUP, New Delhi, 1998; *The Apparatus of Empire, 'Awards of rank, offices and titles to the Mughal Nobility (1574-1658)*, Athar Ali, Pb., Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1985.
2. *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire* Tripathi, R.P., Allahabad, 1987.
3. *Life and times of Malik Ambar*, Radhay Shyam, Delhi, 1968.
4. *The Political Biography of a Mughal Noble, Munim Khan Khan-i-Khanan (1497-1575)*, Iqtidar Alam Khan, Aligarh, 1973.
5. *Nurjahan and her family*, Pant Chandra, Pb., Dandewal Publishing House, Allahabad, 1978.
6. *History of Jahangir*, Beni Prasad, Pub., Indian Press, Allahabad, 5th ed., 1962.
7. *History of Jahangir*, Francis Gladwin, 1930.
8. *History of Shah Jahan of Delhi*, B.P. Saxena, Allahabad, 1962.
9. *Nurjahan, Empress of Mughal India*, Ellison Banks Findly, Pub., Oxford University Press, 1993.

10. *The nobility under Akbar and Jahangir*, 'A study of family groups', Afzal Husain, Pb., New Delhi, 1999.
11. *The parties and politics at the Mughal court (1707-1740)*, Satish Chandra, Aligarh, 1959.
12. *The Early History of India*, Smith, V.A. Oxford, 1914.
13. *Akbar the Great Mughal (1542-1605)*, second edition, Oxford, 1919.

ARTICLES:

1. 'The Theory of Nurjahan Junta', 'A critical examination', Nurul Hasan, Proceeding of Indian History Congress, 1958, p. 324-35, Art. No. 12, CAS, AMU, Aligarh.
2. 'The Family of Nurjahan during Jahangir's reign', 'A political study', Irfan Habib, Pub., Medieval India, A miscellany, Art. No. 469, CAS, AMU, Aligarh.
3. 'Mahabat Khan Khan-i-Khana, A case study of Indian cultural influence on the Mughal Nobility', Imteyaz Ahmad, Pub., *Islamic Culture*, July, 1978, p. 157-62.
4. 'Rebellion of Shahjahan and his career in Bengal', Dr. Sudhindra Nath Bhattacharya, pub. Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol.10, 1934, pp.671-722.
5. 'Deccan Policy of the Mughals', Shatish Chandra, Article no.246, CAS, Dept. of History, A.M.U., Aligarh.
6. 'Growth of Irani Element in Akbar's Nobility', pub. Indian History Congress, 1975.

7. 'Position of Itimad-ud-Daula family during the reign of Shahjahan', Mohd. Afzal Khan, Article No.154, CAS, AMU, Aligarh.

GAZETTEERS AND JOURNALS:

1. *The Gazetteer of India*, vol.I.
2. Govt. of India, *Imperial Gazetteer*, III-vols, IX XIII & XIV.
3. *Orchha Gazetteer*, Lucknow, 1907.
4. *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1881, 1902.
5. *Journal of Royal Asiatic Societic*, 1968.